

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 89.—No. 9.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, AUG. 29TH, 1835.

[Price 1s.]



167, Fleet Street, 27th August, 1835.

I LAST week promised to lay before the public the result of reflections as to the real and to the unreal or imaginary evils which afflict and agitate this country. This has been due from me a long time, but not more so, than I have been eager to perform the duty, except that I have been prevented from absolute want of time. A sort of *justification*, I apprehend, it is necessary for me to make for my conduct, in disapproving of tamperings with the ancient institutions, upon the speculative philosophy of a set of Scotch pretenders, who so arrogantly declaim against the institutions of ALFRED, who insist on his "*ignorance*," and who would persuade us that it is the "*relieving*" of the bishops of their parliamentary duties, and the "*relieving*" of English working people of their bread, meat, and beer, the "*relieving*" the young women of the rights hitherto possessed by the female sex, and the "*relieving*" of the infant children from even the ties of nature: it is become necessary for me to justify myself for not adding one to the numerous echoes of these pretenders, who would amuse us

with theories while they recommend this starvation for the people, in order that the enormous fictitious debt may be paid and their own hungry jaws crammed!

It is very well, however, that I have been prevented, as I have so frequently hinted, from commanding time enough for this purpose: for, I should then most assuredly be already laying claim to the title of *prophet*! But I cannot forbear assuring the reader, that if I had had the time, I should now deserve the title. I beg him to read attentively the articles of *foreign news* which I take from the *Standard*. He will there see that the game is up; that the FISCAL SYSTEM cannot be pursued any great length of time. It is surely time now to *get gold*, by every one who has it left in his power! We shall very soon have reforms of a very different sort to make, than those which have occupied the public attention since July, 1830!

I have only to add, that a most severe domestic occurrence has abstracted me from public affairs (if it have not distracted me) since the writing of my notification, promising the articles above alluded to. So far as such an occurrence can be counterbalanced by public events, I have been refreshed by reading, as I have this moment, this intelligence from

France and Spain; for, here is real consolation for the people of this country, and bitter chagrin for the silly and greedy Whigs, and surprise for the insipid, worn-out Tories!

I was in hopes I should have the MEDALLION I spoke of last week, ready for publication. I really have not been able to attend to business; and I am afraid this must be deferred. It is a matter which I must see perfected with my own eyes, so as to be able to answer for the genuineness upon my own knowledge; and, at all events, I shall use proper caution in recommending any thing of the sort.

I have been applied to to know if any of the numerous *histories of my father's life*, published, have my authority. It has certainly been great remissness in me not to notice these things before. They are all false, where they are not confined to mere extracts from the *Register* or other published writings of my father; and, if they were so confined, I should have no objection to them. The public interest demands a real LIFE, written by one of our family, and which I undertake myself; but, it is not a thing which I can do off-hand. My father began it himself, and intended the book to be illustrated by drawings; this latter was my part, and I had done some of the drawings, two years ago, representing him first keeping birds, and then speaking in Parliament. No one can either write, or draw the illustrations for, his matchless life, that I can have objection to, but the undertaking will fall to myself, and it shall be performed before the end of this year.

FOREIGN NEWS.

(From the Standard, Aug. 25.)

FRANCE

(FROM OUR PRIVATE CORRESPONDENT.)

Paris, Aug. 23.

Insurrection at Madrid.

But one topic occupies public attention to-day. It is the insurrection at Madrid. The *Journal de Paris* contained last night only the following intelligence. It is certainly sufficiently meagre:—

"A commercial courier passing through Oloron on the 19th, announced that a movement had been attempted at Madrid to the cries of *Viva Isabella!* but that the Royal Guards had destroyed the barricades which they had endeavoured to establish, and had disarmed the Urban Guards.

"At Barcelona they speak no more of the constitution of 1812, but a proclamation of the junta, dated the 13th, speaks of guarantees to be obtained by a new charters and demands for each province the right of raising, dividing, and employing its own contributions.

"A general arming is ordained against the Carlists."

DEBATES AT THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES.

The debates on the project of law relative to the French press, were yesterday resumed, and conducted with considerable vigour.

The speeches of Madier de Montjau, and Duvergier de Hanraione, in favour of the law, and of M. Bignon, and M. Havin against it, were the best which were pronounced. Eight orators alone spoke, and the discussions were adjourned till Monday. Many required that a sitting should be held to-day—but the majority, or rather the President, decided in the negative.

The speech of M. Havin was extremely severe and personal, especially towards M. Thiers and Guizot. M. Havin said some of the hardest things in the hardest way ever yet said in even a French Chamber. The speech of M. Bignon was much more able, but was less "taking" than that of M.

Havin. M. Bignon declared "that the projects of law now presented to the Chambers were so presented in order to gratify the holy alliance, and to obtain the favour of the northern courts." But where is the holy alliance now? I do not see it.

SPAIN.

Madrid, Aug. 17.

(From the Madrid Gazette Extraordinary.)

ROYAL DECREE.

Considering that the public tranquillity is seriously disturbed in the capital, and convinced of the urgent necessity of re-establishing it for the general good of the state, and the security of the throne of my august daughter, Isabel II., depending thereon, I decree in her name, and as Queen Regent, as follows:—

I. The City of Madrid is declared in a state of Siege; consequently the superior military authority will assume all the rights and powers granted to it by the ordonnances, and all other authorities will obey its directions.

II. All military and civil *employes*, even those belonging to the Urban militia, who do not present themselves at their respective posts immediately on the promulgation of this present Decree, shall be, by the very act, deprived of their employments.

III. All laws and all Royal Decrees which are in opposition to the present decree are suspended until they shall be re-established after the restoration of public order. You will understand this, and communicate it to all whom it concerns.

(Signed) THE QUEEN.

St. Ildefonso, Aug. 16, 1835.

To the President of the Council of Ministers.

(Private Correspondence of the Morning Post.)

Madrid, Aug. 17.

The law has triumphed. The capital is declared to be in a state of siege.

Such is our present situation. After yesterday's serious demonstrations it was scarcely possible to expect so early and satisfactory a result. The militia may be said to have played a pitiful part in these occurrences. The following is the fact:—We yesterday left the troops of the garrison and mutinous battalions of the militia in presence of each other. At eight o'clock in the evening the garrison stationed on the eastern place, and before the palace, made a sudden movement, and placed picquets in advanced posts before the Plaza Mayor, which was thus surrounded, when least expected, owing to the apparent inaction of the guard in the first movements. The militia, who had stationed themselves at the Royal Printing Office, and in the dwelling of Count d'Onate, on learning the movement of the garrison, took fright, and deserting their advanced positions, retired in haste to the Plaza Mayor. The Royal Guard advanced but slowly. At two o'clock no hostilities had yet taken place, but it was evident that the Urban militia would not hold out long. Already had most of the officers prudently retired, abandoning to themselves the incomplete battalion whose ranks were every instant growing thinner. At four o'clock the Royal Guard moved on, and placed artillery in the street ending at the Plaza Mayor. The demonstration cast alarm into the ranks of the Urban militia. Four officers were sent *en parlementaire* to Gen. Quesada, to inquire what his instructions were, and to complain of his hostile measures when the militia gave no provocation. The General replied that he would withdraw the artillery if the Urbans dispersed, and added, that he allowed them till six o'clock to evacuate the Plaza, which they were to do by marching out two by two together. If after that delay they had not complied the garrison should attack them. At six o'clock there remained not an Urban Guard upon the Plaza Mayor.

The garrison, masters of the field of battle without firing a shot, took possession of the barracks of the militia, where not a prisoner was made; 900 muskets, and some bread and wine, were

alone found. At seven o'clock the expedition was over, and the troops re-entered their quarters. There were seventeen pieces of ordnance brought up. The law has triumphed, and there would be reason to wonder at the capital being declared in a state of siege were private excesses unfortunately not substituted for a public insurrection. Order is, indeed, far from being restored. At two o'clock this day above forty persons had been murdered by the different parties, who have availed themselves of the crisis to gratify private revenge. The Old Royalist Volunteers and Urbanos are cutting each other's throats. Just now two men have been butchered on the Santa Cruz Plaza. They were suspected of Royalism. Blood calls for blood. The infuriated parties breathe only revenge, and that which has occurred in the daytime bodes a melancholy night. The alarm is great in every quarter of the capital. Measures too energetic cannot be adopted to prevent massacres, fires, and other horrors, that will, perhaps, be perpetrated in the darkness of night.

The discord that prevailed in the militia has caused its bold plan to fail. The garrison appears to have approved of the first demands of the insurgents, but their obstinacy in calling for the constitution determined a change of opinion in the garrison, and the schism became complete. The result is known.

The 2nd battalion of the militia is the only one that has not been disarmed. It was in the St. Francisco convent when the others were compelled to submit to Quesada's conditions.

(FROM OUR PRIVATE CORRESPONDENT.)

Paris, Aug. 24.

News from Spain.

The *Journal de Paris* contains the following intelligence from Madrid:—

"Letters from Madrid, dated 17th inst., announce that the troubles of the previous day had been terminated without the firing of a shot.

"At the first 'sommation' which was made, the rebels deposed their arms.

"The three battalions which had risen have been disbanded.

"Energetic measures have been taken to prevent the return of these disorders. From the 16th inst., Madrid was declared in a state of siege, and the laws have been suspended.

"The *denouement* of the scene of the 15th and 16th has restored the confidence of the friends of the government.

"A telegraphic dispatch from Bayonne of the 23rd inst. announces that the Generals Evans and Alava have arrived at St. Sebastian the 22nd with 1500 men."

The *Gazette de France* denies that on the 17th inst. the insurrection at Madrid had terminated! It declares that a great number of Urban Guards assembled in the Convent of St. Francis, and there assumed a menacing attitude. News of a later date, of the 18th inst., announce that the public tranquillity had not lasted a long time, for in the middle of the day of the 18th, the Urbanos distributed in various parts of Madrid had endeavoured to provoke the Carlists to conflicts. Partial attacks on both sides took place. Arms were taken up, and massacres re-begun. In the afternoon more than forty persons were killed. It was expected that the night would be terrible and bloody. The Spanish government expects, perhaps, that it has escaped from the danger which menaced it, because the anarchical party, not being able to gain over the troops, avenged themselves on the Carlists.

It is evident that the crisis is not suspended, and will not pass away, in a capital where the citizens are massacring each other, in the presence of a government which is happy for the moment, not to have to defend itself against its common foes. There is neither law nor authority, but a horrible, eternal, and bloody anarchy in Spain.

The *Bon Sens* states that "the Governor of Cadiz, who had prohibited popular songs in the streets, had been taken from his hotel by the militia, carried round the city with a violin round his neck, and sent out of Cadiz. After his departure the city was tranquil, but

the people are crying, '*Vive la Liberté!*' Down with the monks!"

The *Abeja* announces that the Minister of War has resigned, and that General Marquis de Rodil is to replace him.

LAW AS TO THE FRENCH PRESS.

The *Messenger des Chambres* contends, that the law as to the press violates the charter.

M. Bignon, and a large party of his political friends maintain, that they will not support any amendments to the law, but will have it entirely rejected, or entirely assented to.

The *Courrier Français* has replied to this objection of M. Bignon in an article of great merit. The *Courrier* says, "We must first of all try to reject the law, *in toto*, i. e. reject its principle; but if we cannot succeed in this, let us try to amend its provisions. If we fail in amending its provisions, then let us vote *en masse* against it at the close."

There can be no doubt of the law passing. The majority in the Chamber of Deputies is too decisive to admit of any doubt as to this point. But I think that many important alterations will be made therein, and that English journals published in France will be exempted from the operation of the law.

MISCELLANEOUS.

A Secretary of the French Embassy arrived from Madrid in the course of last night at the Hotel of the Minister for Foreign Affairs. The Duke de Broglie immediately rose, and conducted him to the Tuileries, where they both remained upwards of two hours.

A letter from Algiers, of the 15th instant, has the following:—

"Marshal Clausel has publicly announced, on his arrival in Africa, that his intention was to avenge the insult upon our arms offered by Abdel Kadar, but proposes to wait until the end of September, and it does not appear that the 12,000 troops, which are granted to him, will arrive before that period. These troops will sail from Port Vendre direct for Oran, where the Marshal will join them with a picked corps and his staff. This new turn of affairs has pro-

duced a powerful sensation here. The following is an Order of the Day of the Army, dated Aug. 11:—

"The assassinations committed on the 8th inst. by the Hadjoutes, near Donera, on the men of the 1st regiment of African Chasseurs, demanded vengeance, which was obtained yesterday in an ample and striking manner. A column of 1700 men, with two mountain pieces of artillery and two field-pieces, commanded by Col. Schauenburg, left the camp at Erlon at nine o'clock in the evening, and arrived, after a rapid march, on the Cliffs. Having passed this point, the enemy was surprised at El-Hadji and Bederba, which were inhabited by the principal instigators and assassins. Thirteen heads of the enemy, 350 horned cattle, a hundred sheep, goats, camels, horses, and mules, remained in the hands of the soldiers. We have only to regret the loss of a quarter-master and two horsemen of the corps of Spahis. These brave soldiers, having advanced with too much ardour, were killed in the midst of the Hadjoutes. From the report of Colonel de Schauenburg, the Lieut. General expresses to the troops of his column his entire satisfaction at the conduct of every individual in this short but brilliant expedition. He expected nothing less from troops so good and so well commanded.

(Signed)

'Baron RATAPEL, Lieut. Gen.'

It is now stated that General Trezel is not to resume his command at Oran, but will be brought to a court-martial upon the demand of Count d'Erlon, whose orders he disobeyed when he undertook the expedition which terminated so unfortunately.

BOURSE AND FUNDS.

The Spanish funds have risen considerably. The French funds have improved a little.

French Five per Cents. are at 108f 90c cash, 108f 95c end of August; French Three per Cents. 78f 60c cash, 78f 60c end of August. Spanish Five per Cents. 34; Three per Cents. 21 $\frac{3}{4}$; Cortes 34; Royal 34; Emprunt 40 $\frac{3}{4}$.

The French ministers are proceeding with their law against the press. Viscount de Chateaubriand has addressed a long letter to the *Quotidienne* on this subject, of which the conclusion is the most striking part:—

"What! is it you, the offspring of July, who change the jurisdiction of the tribunals, who transform offences into crimes, introduced into the jury the ignominy of the secret vote, who brings forward a series of articles of laws, each more oppressive than the other, and in which the imagination is lost?

"I spare you the reproaches which the whole earth makes you; I do not ask from you an explanation of your oaths; I am content to tell you that you have not arrived at the end of your task—that in the perilous course you have adopted in the wake of all the governments who have destroyed themselves, nothing remains for you but to follow this track to the abyss. You have done nothing unless you restore the censorship; nothing but the censorship is efficacious against the liberty of the press; a violent law may kill the man; the censorship kills the idea; and it is the idea which ruins your system. Prepare yourselves therefore to establish the censorship, and the day on which you establish it you die. Besides, it must be agreed, your laws are a forced consequence of your position; without the principle of legitimacy, or the republican principle, the liberty of the press is wholly impossible. The further you advance the more evident this truth will be. I had hoped to have been near enough to my grave to have avoided the revolutions which threaten the future; but the spirit of vertigo, which has seized upon power, makes me fear that revolutions are quicker in their progress than my life.

"I shall not seek to disturb temporary triumphs; I shall not rashly throw myself into danger; but if ever a condition of honour obliges me to speak, as it compels me now, nothing shall prevent me; I will loudly repeat my known profession of faith, because there is no power, no law, no danger on earth that can hinder me from freely expressing my opinion. I repel with all the power of my soul the moral crime which they have been pleased to make me share in; I hold the proposed laws in detestation. Let those who make them and vote for them keep the honour to themselves—to every one his own works."

We do not agree with the eloquent writer in thinking that a free press can exist only in what his party call a system of legitimacy or a republic—but it is quite clear that it cannot exist with a *Doctrinaire* ministry, in which the *tribune* is the antagonist to the newspaper.

The closing prices at the Bourse on Monday were—Five per Cent. 108f. 90c.; Three per Cent. 78f. 60c.

The Carlist papers in France deny that the insurrection of the Urban militia is over, and maintain that a desperate crisis may be still looked for in Madrid. The ministerial journals, on the contrary, assert that tranquillity is preserved, but they allow that the city is in a state of siege, and that the laws have been suspended. In the north of Spain we learn that Don Carlos was at Ochandiana on the 16th. The object of his generals in entering Old Castile, is said to have been to draw the attention of General Cordova from the incursion of a column into Arragon, in which the manœuvre was successful. The arrival of Generals Evans and Alava with 1500 men at St. Sebastian on the 22nd is officially announced to the French government by a telegraphic dispatch from Bayonne. Tumults are said to have occurred in Pampeluna on the 16th inst., but they were soon appeased. Strangely enough, the only notice that we have found taken of the affair of Palafox, who was arrested on suspicion of being concerned in a conspiracy at Madrid, appears in one of the Brussels papers received this morning, by which we learn that the Spanish tribunals have not only acquitted him, but recognised his right of action against those who acted towards him in a manner so arbitrary and despotic. This is stated on the authority of the *Revista*.

We have accounts from Lisbon of the 16th inst. Marshal Saldanha narrowly escaped breaking his neck, by falling down a flight of stairs; he has, however, suffered no personal injury from the accident. Negotiations for the purpose of marrying the Queen to a Prince of the house of Saxe-Coburg, who happens to be a Roman Catholic, are said to be going forward. Disputes between the Portuguese and English are of hourly occurrence, and a feeling of dislike to our country appears to be on the increase. Abusive articles against England are frequently published in the Lisbon journals, and the lives of our countrymen are not safe. The correspondent of the *Morning Herald* says:—"The English ask what will become of them after the suspension of the treaty, when British

privileges and that of a Judge Conservator of their own particularly, are to cease. Since the announcement of which, the ill-feeling of the natives against British subjects has been observed to be much on the increase."

The *Allgemeine Zeitung* expresses much approbation of the laws against the jury and the press now carrying on in Paris; and after deploring the sacrifice of Charles X., proceeds to hope "we shall see if Louis Philippe will be more fortunate than Charles X., and whether he will succeed in carrying his measures into effect: he has hitherto done a great deal, and there is reason to thank him for now stepping forward against the revolution. The Exchange at Vienna was in a very unsettled state, and the funds were dull. The 15th, which is the latest date from that city, was a strict holiday on 'Change and we consequently have no quotations.

NEW POOR-LAW

AS IT AFFECTS THE

FEMALE SEX.

From Cobbett's '*Analysis*,' not yet published.

(Continued from p. 381.)

It was some time ago remarked, in the French Chamber of Deputies, by M. Eusebe Salverte, that, now, all laws, direct or indirect, whether penal only or fiscal, and for whatever other ostensible purpose; that all the laws of every sort now had one sole tendency, and that that was in favour of the accumulations of the rich. His words were very true as applied to his own fund-holding country, but still truer applied to our own. Twelve pence was the lowest amount of theft which could be punished capitally, at the time when this was equal to five pounds now, and yet twelve pence is the standard still. The old law on this point is laid down in the *Mirroure of Justices*; and the words are, "if he steal to satisfy

"his hunger," so that, as my father says (see *Poor Man's Friend*), the thief must have had a pretty fair latitude for his appetite. But, long before this (by the law, which, together with the Scripture, was the authority upon which the foregoing was founded) we see, by the "*Collectanea Cambrica*," that, 694 years before Christ, the Druidical laws of the Britons contained the following as to thieves:—"Three kinds of thieves are not to be punished with death: 1. A wife who joins with her husband in theft. 2. A youth under age. 3. One who, after he has asked in vain for support in three towns, and at nine houses in each town." So that, there was the severest punishment for wanton theft, equal to that for murder, and upon the just principle that such theft tends to murder: but there is exemption of theft to support nature; and thus we see, that in our ancient laws the just and obvious distinction was always observed. And, in the modern, we see, by Hale and by Blackstone, how these two lawyers, who certainly did not overflow with the milk of human kindness; how they avoided laying down the law as indiscriminate, and how they bottom the rigorous punishment of theft upon the Poor-law of 43rd Elizabeth, by which necessity is legally relieved, and by which Blackstone says "charity is reduced to a system, and interwoven in our very constitution." Now, then, therefore, this system is upset, and the weaving is unravelled, while at the same time the sturdy old twelve-pence minimum to constitute the criminal theft holds good: and this, too, is almost all that does hold good of the old law: for, Peel's precious *five acts* so revolutionised the criminal jurisprudence as to take from it all checks and all delays favourable to the prisoner, and to multiply the offences, and add severities in at least a thousand ways; and, as to this revolution of Peel's having had for its object the favouring of property, what could be more flagrant than the throwing the expenses of prosecutions by individuals upon the counties? Why, what is still more flagrant, is the present design of the same man, in conjunction with the Whigs, to remove these expenses

from the counties on to the general taxation! The whole thing is come to that pass, that it is *property*, and *not life*, which is most regarded; one may almost say, that the life of a man is nothing put in comparison with his purse; but, what is a great deal worse, the life of one without a purse being regarded in a different light from the life of one who has cunningly accumulated the results of the labours of others. Sir Thomas More says, "It seems to me a very unjust thing to take away a man's life for a little money; for, nothing in the world can be of equal value to a man's life. And, if it be said that it is not for the money he suffers, but for his breaking the laws, I must say, extreme justice is an extreme injury; for we ought not to approve of these terrible laws that make the smallest offence capital, nor of that opinion of the stoics that makes all crimes equal, as if there was no difference between killing a man and taking his purse." One would think he had been writing for our Scotchmen, who are the real stoics; but, there were certainly some stoics in his time, too; for an exaggerating historian states that there were seventy-two thousand thieves hanged in the reign of Henry VIII. (whose Chancellor Sir Thomas More was); so that, the sacrilegious thefts of the royal plunderer and his myrmidons on the churches, monasteries, and tithes, seem to have set an example the following of which he punished with so little scruple; at the same time that the miseries which forced the people to risk their necks arose from the deprivation they suffered of their own means of existence, of which it was that the plunderings in great part consisted. "Oh!" the Scotch stoics say, "this is in his Utopia; and all that you are saying is Utopian and impracticable." Indeed? Why, the very thing which he is here censuring is the deviation from the old law which has existed so many ages with the Britons and the Saxons, and along with which the destitution of the crime of theft was so remarkable, as we know by the history of Alfred; and which very laws Blackstone says had "become anti-

quated;" and, why antiquated, pray? Because of that very poor-law of 43rd of Elizabeth, which did not exist when the Utopia was written, but which did exist within fifty years afterwards: so that, so far from the Utopian doctrine being visionary and impracticable, it was found by Queen Elizabeth, after forty-three years of experience, impossible to go on further without putting it into practice. The "Utopian" doctrine had become rather "antiquated" at the time when old Harry was committing his plunderings, and hanging his thieves; but, it became *renovated* by 43rd Elizabeth, and, since that, by numerous perversions and corruptions it had "become antiquated" again, when our Scotchmen and other upstarts set about extirpating it in good earnest. So that it is purely a false assumption, that the "Utopian" is an impracticable, wild scheme. Of all the enemies of the human race, there are none so deadly as those men who set up this cant of the "impossible" and the "possible." Those who affect to lament the necessity of this Poor-law are more artful than the rude and uncouth Scotchmen and the *Picts*, who come, with all their northern brutality and meanness, and go the full length of justifying it, as being according to every principle; such fellows have shown that their influence is evanescent, as it must be, the grossness of their tenets being such that they cannot be generally received: but, that which is growing upon us and glueing itself on to us like an accursed blight, is the fatal idea instilled by your artful, silky knaves, who put humanity foremost, and who pretend their sorrow for what *necessity* is about to compel them to do, than which there is nothing more specious, and yet nothing more fallacious; for the same doctrine might recoil, and would justify any excess of vengeance: in short, while it is an artful pretence, it is, as my father calls it, only the "*tyrant's plea*." These are the especial agents of Mammon: they will assume every form, and they are everywhere, and they have the strongest hold. This is the infernal set who have so very nearly "antiquated" the ridiculed "Utopianism" in America,

where they assume the style of "*stern republicans*" and interpret republicanism to mean "the utmost extent of liberty in converting the goods of our neighbour to our own use, by indirect means:" they call robbery, *liberty*; and they call that free government which ensures the means of robbery, without exposure of life or limb, to the lazy and the crafty. The paper-money makers in America (their trade being there the chief vehicle for this republican robbery) have been engaged in one general and most formidable conspiracy, in almost open rebellion against the really good government of that country; and the ends of which would have been totally destroyed, but for the accidental extraordinary wisdom and firmness of the President; and but for this "Utopianism" would inevitably have been made a deplorable example there. In this conspiracy, one of the chief means was, this very sophistry of the affected sceptics about *impracticability*; but, this sophistry was happily detected in America, the people of whom are *sceptics* also, as to all good intentions on the part of rich men and of governors generally. The discussions on this very argument of the sticklers for the "possible," have drawn forth full examination of the subject, which this country should blush to be so liable to be imposed upon as it is. Well may the atrocious accumulators and their hired barkers revile us, call the farmers "*ignorant*," and at best incapable of assessing their own rates, while they find them so careless about winnowing the chaff out of the rubbishy sophistries: they find, that though they show no grain, they can make it believed that there is some at the bottom, and hence they are seen to possess so much arrogance. As a specimen of the tone of these discussions in America (and it is a very meagre specimen) I cannot help extracting two or three sentences from the *New York Evening Post*, one of the foremost in respectability of the American press; and a paper containing talent and information so great, that it ought to be read in England generally, as a matter of course, as much as a London paper. The observations

are upon this very point: "There is no proof, nay, no probability, that this distinguished man wasted his time in sketching a system of government which he believed could never, under any circumstances, be reduced to practice. It has always, however, been the fashion of those who revel in the abuses of a bad system, to denounce as visionary or impracticable all attempts to correct them. The Utopia of Sir Thomas More being one of the most celebrated works in which the abuses of religion and government, as they subsisted in his time, are held up and illustrated, all similar attempts, either directly or indirectly, to ameliorate the condition of mankind, have been by common consent of those who were fattening on the spoils of the people, denominated '*Utopian*,' that is, visionary, dangerous, or, at least, *impracticable*. It is used as an answer to all experience and argument, and has become the cant word of thousands who know no more of the principles laid down in that famous work than the man in the moon, or any other imaginary being." Now, is this not true? However, to remove all doubt, let us see a little more of what the Utopia says for itself:—"May I perish if I see any thing that looks either like justice or equity in this; that a nobleman, a goldsmith, a banker, or any other man, that either does nothing at all, or, at best, is employed in things that are of no use to the public, should live in great luxury and splendour upon what is so ill acquired; and a mean man, a carter, a smith, or a ploughman, that works harder even than the beasts themselves, and is employed in labours so necessary that no commonwealth could hold out a year without them, can earn only so poor a livelihood, and must lead so miserable a life, that the condition of the beasts is better than theirs? for as the beasts do not work so constantly, so they feed almost as well, and with more pleasure, and have no anxiety about what is to come; whilst these men are depressed by a barren and fruitless employment, and

"tormented with the apprehensions of
 "want in their old age; since that
 "which they get by their daily labour
 "does but maintain them at present,
 "and is consumed as fast as it comes in,
 "there is no overplus to lay up for old
 "age. Is not that government both
 "unjust and ungrateful that is so pro-
 "digious of its favours to those that are
 "called gentlemen or goldsmiths, or
 "such others who are idle, or live either
 "by flattery, or by contriving the arts
 "of vain pleasure; and, on the other
 "hand, takes no care of those of a
 "meaner sort, such as ploughmen, col-
 "liers, smiths, without whom it could
 "not subsist? But after the public has
 "reaped all the advantage of their service
 "and they come to be oppressed with
 "age, sickness, and want, all their
 "labours and the good they have done
 "are forgotten; and all the recompense
 "given them is, that they are left to
 "die in great misery. *The richer sort*
 "*are often endeavouring to bring the hire*
 "*of labourers lower, not only by their*
 "*fraudulent practices, but by the laws*
 "*which they procure to be made to that*
 "*effect: so that, though it is a thing*
 "*most unjust in itself to give such small*
 "*rewards to those who deserve so well*
 "*of the public, yet they have given*
 "*those hardships the name and colour*
 "*of justice, by procuring laws to be*
 "*made for regulating them.—Therefore*
 "I must say, that, as I hope for mercy,
 "I can have no other notion of all the
 "other governments that I see or know,
 "than that *they are a conspiracy of the*
 "*rich, who, on pretence of managing*
 "*the public, only pursue their private*
 "*ends, and devise all the ways and arts*
 "*they can find out; first, that they may,*
 "*without danger, preserve all that they*
 "*have so ill acquired; and then, that*
 "*they may engage the poor to toil and*
 "*labour for them at as low rates as*
 "*possible, and oppress them as much as*
 "*they please: and, if they can but pre-*
 "*vail to get these contrivances esta-*
 "*blished by the show of public au-*
 "*thority, which is considered as the*
 "*representative of the whole people,*
 "then they are accounted laws."

He does not "perish," and he seems

to be writing now, if for "goldsmiths"
 we substitute *fundholders*; but, do we not
 tremble to think of what he would say
 if he were here now, when the wages of
 labour are absolute starvation, when
 starvation is "reduced to a system, and
 "interwoven with our very constitution,"
 and when the accumulators have the
 courage to avow that it is the condition
 upon which their accumulations are to
 continue? It must be observed, that
 the picture which he draws is not of
 things which he beheld to be *general*.
 He is here lamenting severity, injustice
 and suffering, as he saw it in isolated
 cases: he is lamenting the possibility of
 the thing to exist, which did then exist
 partially, through the encouragement
 given to the covetous crew fostered by
 the King, which operated in particular
 instances, and especially through the
 spoliation of the poor through that of the
 Church, the Church having been the
 dependence of many of the labouring
 class. If he is censuring the low rate
 of wages, those wages were fixed by
 law, for all kinds of labour by day-work
 or piece-work, as it partly remains fixed
 for the piece-work in some trades; and,
 my father has proved that the lowest
 price for a day's work in filling a dung
 cart was equal to *five shillings now*! Little
 did this lord chancellor dream of
 absolute want being incidental to mil-
 lions! He talks of the laws being bad;
 but, the laws are in the book now, and
 this chancellor of 1534 would have
 looked sharp to find in all of them or in
 any other laws since the world began (in
 England) the words "relief in articles
 "of absolute necessity only, but not in
 "money, and in no case without setting
 "on work," which words, now law, were
 procured to be made law by the chan-
 cellor of 1834! What Sir T. More
 would have said of *that*, is for an effort
 of the imagination. I cannot help
 amusing myself with translating these
 words into the Scotch brogue, and I am
 sorry I am not master of the Highland
 patois itself:—"relyaf in airticles of
 "aibsolyute necassity honly, but not in
 "moony, and in noa caass without
 "satting on woork."

But we are not to omit the grand

circumstance of all. Happy would this nation be now to compromise: to give up all claim of right of relief, and every man left to his chance of the chapter of accidents; aye, and to pay the taxes, too, and keep pensioners, soldiers, and fundholders: that is to say, if these taxes were left at what they were after the war, in place of being *trebled by Peel's Bill!* It is nonsense to say that the fundholder does not get the quartern loaf for a third part of what he got it for then; *that is part of the case:* but, we know that the farmer gets *a great deal less than one third of what he got then.* And though a small fundholder does not get his necessities cheaper in any thing like that proportion, a great fundholder gets *an estate* for less in precisely that proportion. And we know, that the great magician Peel has, by tripling debts, turned all that was vigour, all that was activity, into feebleness and stagnation; while, by the same touch of his wand, he has turned creation in the hands of the industrious into accumulation in the hands of the lazy and cunning: the immediate consequence of which has been, that either the farmers and their families shall become destitute and with their labourers starve, or that the landlords shall be beggared; and, now comes this Poor Law, and boldly says, "Then they shall starve!"

To resume, I am confident that the reader will allow that if I have failed in establishing the second proposition (persecution on the poor) it is not for want of matter. Whether or not, I must be indulged with repeating, that it is against the insidious, cunning, selfish, cautious crew above spoken of, that the people should be on their guard. Talk of "prejudice," indeed; talk of "abuses;" is there any abuse like this caused by Peel's Bill and now to be completed by this Poor Law? And is there any prejudice so associated with ignorance, as that which can be infused by the drones of this country in the bees, that the first of these bills is *practicable*? It has been believed, however, notwithstanding the emphatic prophecy of my father, made when the law was passing, but we see

now that it has been found practical no further without this other bill; and, is the strength of infatuation so great as to persuade men that this other will enable the first to be carried on ("carried out," as they call it) much longer? This is the vision of visions; this is the impossibility: only, let us bear well in mind, that it is not we that *gain* by the vision, while there are *others who do!* We should observe who they are who preach of what is "impossible" and of what is "possible;" and, if we find that what they shall say *is possible*, tends to *fill their pockets*, we gain a step. "*Beware of a counsellor, and know before what need he hath; for he will counsel for himself: lest he cast the loss upon thee.*"

CONTEMPT OF LAW.—With these motives and with all this influence at work, we are not to be surprised at the general principle of law being set at defiance, and at its being perverted, twisted, and stretched, and at anomalies being created. Of the laws, the first of course is the law of nature; especially as we have to do with *feelosofers* who are so sublimely wise that they square all their minutest movements upon some grand principle to be found in the laws of the universe. The *size of the bushel* has been reformed according to some very subtle secret in the *weight of the air*; the making THE SHEKEL GREAT AND THE EPHAH SMALL has been upon "philosophical principles;" Peel, in moving his Bill, availed himself largely of Locke's dissertation on universal principles: that was in reforming the *shekel*, which reform we know to have been *practical* to a degree. And, that of the *ephah* (albeit it was an enlargement in our case) had its practical effect too; for, while the shekel philosophy acted *really* in reducing prices, this acted *apparently* in counteracting the effects of the other, by making wheat appear (by four and a third and one twenty-third per cent.) dearer than it was. So that, the sublime talents of these philosophers in bringing all things to combine, to correspond, to act in unison and harmony for their divers pur-

poses, cannot be doubted. It must be confessed, however, that the turn of the feelosophers is chiefly for the *exact* sciences. Chemistry and geometry are their idols. Upon them they build all their theories and square all their proceedings. They say that chemistry was never known before, never discovered, and the pursuing it to excess exploded. As for geometry, it is a godlike science, a real philosopher's stone for the accumulators, who will have money increase as fast as they put figures upon paper, and who say that men would increase equally fast; but, here they immediately cast away their philosophy for the arbitrary character, and say that there shall be an exception with regard to men; and, therefore, let us see in the first place as to the *feelosophy* of the geometricians.

The progress of increase or decrease throughout all animated nature is a thing wholly independent of whim, caprice, fashion or choice. The increase is involuntary and the decrease is arbitrary. Instinct leads to the increase and artifice dictates the decrease. If it were not so, all animal life might cease of itself without any external cause. But, we know that the increase has always kept pace with the means of existence, except checked by artificial laws or force. Our present law is one of this sort; and, while it is thus in violation of the law of nature, it is concocted wilfully to cause affliction on the female sex through that law, which acts imperatively by implanting instinct in them. Here, therefore, is the quintessence of the diabolical: one part of the creation is to suffer for contributing to that end which is by nature compulsory; while the other part, who are not compelled by instinct, are to act with impunity, though at discretion and by choice.

In order not to proceed without authority, we may go to the same dissertation of Locke, pressed into service by the *shekel philosopher*, and which certainly applies to the present scheme as well as to that. He says that men have implanted in them no principle for the protection of their own children; and he brings an instance (all the way from the

savages of the Pacific Ocean) to show, that they will even deliberately, by choice, without necessity, eat their own offspring, and that, too, by concert of whole communities. This is in his argument to show, that there is no such a thing as an universal moral principle. Now, *he says nothing at all about women*, and in the particular instance he relates, he goes on to say that the mothers were sacrificed too.

I will not for one moment dissemble my very great distrust of our philosopher here. His facts and his conclusions are so abhorrent, that I cannot scruple to be rather sceptical with regard to their truth, though coming from Locke. I cannot help suspecting that his logic loses a little of its equilibrium before he has travelled thus far, and that, having moved the scene of his inquiries from one continent to another, his premises shift ground also. We know how the correctest judgment is blinded by a theory, and Locke is here labouring to establish his hypothesis, and it is evident how hard pushed he is, by his going so far off for his facts and illustrations. The old bachelor shows a fondness for his idea, even exceeding maternal fondness, and much more "surpassing woman's love." If his own logic were not innate, he doubtless had some motive or other innate to make him pursue his theory as he does. But, in addition to the vain fondness for his own idea, we are not to forget that, at the time of his writing this or immediately after, he became a *place-man*; and above all we must not forget, in estimating his veracity, that he was a *Whig*, and that the principles he was endeavouring to prove, form a sort of corner stone to the most mischievous and most misanthropic of the Whig doctrines.

So much the more reason for taking him as an authority here; for, if he could have done it, he would most assuredly have made out that women would eat their children too, and that that was not forbidden by their inherent nature. His great aim would have been to make this appear; and to show how it is that the little girl is so fond of a doll, while the little boy likes whips and throwing stones, though he knows no-

thing of the actions of his father. However, he very *logically* leaves this grand point altogether out of his ratiocination. His theory is true in part; but, it is as far from being true on the whole, as extremes always are; his conclusions are most correctly drawn, only the premises are not exact; it is a complete performance as to *form*, all it wants is the *substance*: in short, this great work of Locke is a *presumptuous essay*. It may be said, in support of Locke's theory, that he was reasoning with regard to the mind; that his essay is intituled "*On the Understanding*;" thank you; so that, then, by the showing of this enthusiastic philosopher himself, it is the *heart* which is engaged on one side, whereas the other side acts by no such tie, but acts voluntarily; and, if it be true, as he thus says it is, that the protection of offspring be the rule in women and a sort of exception in men, the character of father has infinitely the greater merit belonging to it: but, with what tyranny must men act, then, in persecuting that party which is purely passive, and which devotes itself by the all-powerful will of the Creator!

But the geometrical accumulators themselves imply the design of the Creator to be the making the increase of our numbers independent of our individual wills, by their *calculations*; these calculations are false; but, they make them to show, that there is nothing to check excessive numbers but penal laws; and the calculators betray their wilfulness in directing all their malignity to the violation of the special law of Providence, by the severe acting of the law on the female side. So that, they convict themselves of *malice prepense* and *o'fore-thought*, in coercing nature herself in order to check the impediments to the rendering geometrical their pestiferous accumulations.

So much for the philosophers, and if too much for the patience of the reader, it is because better might be said, or because any thing at all is superfluous; for, thank God, there are none of us so devoid of common sense; whether there be innate ideas or not, there are none of us who, at a very early age, want

any instruction on these points, upon which it is almost impertinent to say a word.

CONTEMPT OF LAW. This contempt of the law of nature, or mockery of it, by leaving it entirely to itself, applies partially between the two sexes. But, there are *different classes in society*; and we have written laws which ought to be according to a principle regarding all alike. *Blackstone* says, that the English law is very *courteous* to the female sex, and that as it affects them, it is very much founded on the civil law; which civil law, however, allows them much greater immunities than ours. The civil law is, as its name imports, adapted to civil society, and may be called the law of nature civilized; and appears to be in many things the full interpretation of the design of the Creator, drawn from philosophy and confirmed by Scripture. Upon this civil law all our own law is founded, giving remedy by action for damages on adultery, seduction, and breach of promise of marriage; and so was this law of Elizabeth for remedy against fornicators, too; and, now we have this set aside, which affects the poor, while those which affect the rich remain in full force. Juries afford a husband a remedy equal to the greatest degree of vengeance, and it is at his option if the wife be subjected to any degree of punishment. Lord KENYON laid it down, in a case in which a groom was defendant, that if such defendant cannot pay in purse he may in person; and the jury on that occasion found a verdict of 20,000*l.* damages, by which the man lay in jail twenty years to my knowledge, and probably did to the end of his life. The other day, in a trial of this sort, after a series of very bad conduct was proved against the wife, a juryman asked, "What value could be put on such a woman?" But the judge censured this question, so unusual for jury-men in such cases, and told him that that was not at all the question for him, seeing that if it were, it depended upon what her value might have been: but he told him, that if valuelessness in the woman made justification in the man,

their office as jurymen were a "cipher of a function" for the prevention of such crimes in society. It is remarkable, that the very lawyer who introduced this great innovation in the House of Lords, was some years ago counsel for the plaintiff in a case in high life, in which the slender reputation of the woman was part of the defence, and in which case, nevertheless, the damages were 10,000*l*. And all this severity for the protection of the husband is for giving inducement to enter into the marriage-state, and of course the benefit is on the female side.

As to seduction, juries may very justly act with more discrimination; but they generally decide efficiently. But, here as well as in breaches of promise, there must be parents, or friends, or masters, who must have the means of proceeding for the obtaining of justice. Where these means come in support of injured innocence the sympathy of juries is excited, and they are not niggard in apportioning justice between the parties.

Thus the case rests as far as is confined to the laws of England; and any thing more partial, more inconsistent, and more anomalous, that is to say, more avowedly oppressive of the oppressed, never yet was acted upon by the lawless, much less enacted as law.

However, there is another anomaly still, for, the oath of a woman is to be good in case of rape, though it must be corroborated in this of bastardy, although all men must be subject to the risk of their lives from the former, while the latter can take from them only a very few pounds. With regard to the degree of justice which there is in this part of the law (something like that of the Turks, by which the oaths of two women are required to that of one man) it cannot but be observed, that perhaps there is not a single instance in contested applications for affiliation, where the man has totally denied ever having had the connexion. So that this is by way of pure supererogation, and seems to have no motive whatever, but the casting an imputation of the most complete worthlessness on English women generally: and this is for "raising the character"

of the common people, and making them moral, and which very thing was said by the noble Whig minister, who in the same breath (see Section II.) asserted that no part of this Bill was to go into effect *till 1 June this year*; and while the Bill containing this imputation was laid on the table of the Commons by that other paragon of truth, who, on the final division upon it, in answer to the questions of two different members, said, solemnly, that it was *not to go into effect immediately*; though, in the very first case of bastardy which came afterwards to be decided (at Bow-street), it became a question for the magistrate *what was the exact hour at which the Bill was passed*.

So much for England; but in Scotland and Ireland there are other laws and customs remaining untouched, which it now becomes interesting to take a view of. In Scotland the civil law always was in full and complete force in this respect. It is notorious that the nobility are, whole batches of them, *born before marriage*; and their titles as heritors, as lairds, as hereditary magistrates, aye, and as Peers eligible for the House of Lords, just as good as if they had been born in wedlock, and the Scotch lawyer who introduced this law for the English *might* have been addressing his *delicate* observations to sixteen legitimized bastards. The same law is interwoven through all the customs of that country, for the benefit of all classes. If the man be charged with desertion by the woman, he is *unclanned*, and, every Scotchman knows what that is; he is in fact *banished*, and where to? to England: and, it now becomes a moot point to know how many fellows there may be roaming about, hunting up unfortunate English labourers, and ruining English girls, who have not been kicked out of their own country for the very thing! And, this monstrous evil to which this country is now laid open, it suffers from the Irish in much the same manner; for, though there is not the civil law in Ireland, there are customs which correspond very much with those of the clans in Scotland. The priests exert all their autho-

city to cause the parties to marry; and if the man refuse, he is "called" before the congregation, which "calling" is tantamount to the Scotch unclanning or banishing: and the transportation-colony made use of by both these countries is not Botany Bay, but is England!

The detestable and silly fashion of copying from our neighbours, the French, makes it necessary to take a look there, too. The great difference in character and in every circumstance, created by long-settled habits, is never sufficiently considered by the people, who think that the things which they see there are capable of being adopted here, even if they are worth copying. There the people never had laws like the Poor-law of Elizabeth to protect them. But, at any rate, if there is not this law there now, there are none of the anomalies which we now have. No actions for damages for crim. con., for seduction, or for breach of promise. Then, what has been the state of the conjugal life in France? For ages, the despicable character of the French husband has been notorious; and, growing through all changes of the government from bad to worse, the institution of marriage is now almost destroyed: the Christian principle is at any rate abolished; for, married people may now, by law, since the last revolution, procure divorce at any time, and that, too, without hardly one farthing of expense.

This it is with which our present law is consistent; this has the effect of dispensing with marriage; only, our present law must have inconsistency in order to operate differently for different classes. If the object were to prevent bastardy, why not punish the father? Oh, no: this causes him to marry; what we are to prevent is, not bastards but *legitimate* children; the civil law tends to cause marriage, and so do the Christian precepts; and to prevent marrying in a particular class that law and the precepts are set at defiance; and, for this the hideous train of accusations is invented against the female sex.

Before I conclude this part of the subject, it is necessary to notice an assertion made by the Scotch lawyer so often

alluded to, in making his speech in favour of the Bill. He said: "The change of the law which he now called upon their lordships to make, was founded on the same principles on which their lordships were accustomed to legislate every day, in cases of applications which came before them in conjugal infirmities. How often had he heard it argued before their lordships that the husband and the wife ought in such cases, to be placed upon a par! that the wife should have the same right to sue the husband that the husband now has to sue the wife, and that the civil law should be introduced into this country for the better protection of female comfort and female honour! 'No,' their lordships had always answered, and in the propriety of that answer he fully concurred, 'We will not trust the keeping of a woman's virtue to herself. To her apply the threats which are to deter her from crime; to her apply the menaces which are to prevent her backsliding. If she will not yield of herself, and if you can make it her interest not to yield upon the solicitations of others, the seducer will beat at the door in vain; his object will be frustrated, and yours will be gained.'" It is much against my will that I am constrained to copy this obscenity, for the sake of replying to the sophistry which it contains. If the tone of this man on this subject were not most audaciously libellous, then I must say, that to any person of feeling, surrounded thus with strumpets incarnate on all sides, this life must be a continued series of disgust, making it a complete hell upon earth. However, happily, obscenity in accusation is rarely accompanied with truth of the allegation or consequence, and we shall see how the poison contains its own antidote. There are four things to consider in this statement.—1. By long habit at the bar this man has acquired a propensity for converting an argument, which is against himself, to his purpose; a species of jugglery which generally escapes being perceived, thanks to the *slumbers* of his audience, in the producing of which his orations are very suc-

cessful. Who does not perceive, that as to this argument which he says the lords reject, if they did not reject it they wou'd have to allow *actions for damages by a wife against another woman*; and, that as to the cases before the House of Lords, they are merely the following up the remedy in part given by the jury?

2. As to the principle which he says the lords give for answer, he says himself that that is, that they will not leave the keeping of her virtue to the woman herself; and he says, that in the propriety of that answer he fully agrees, though he is raving to prove that (but then this is for the poor) she is to keep it herself.

3. In the cases of "conjugal infirmities" with which the parties are afflicted on both sides, he insinuates, but does not dare to distinctly assert, that there can be no reciprocal accusation, and that *there is no remedy but for the husband*; the contrary of which we know so well to be the fact. In short the statement is made, and the pretended comparison drawn, in the full confidence of *drowsiness in the audience*, who he knew would pay no other attention than to hear the assertion with which it commences, that the law he was introducing was upon a principle already acted upon.

4. But, it is curious that this Scotch "liberal" lawyers should here have tripped upon a subject which must bring to his recollection circumstances not very grateful to himself. He is tripping upon the subject of *recrimination*, and he ought well to recollect the trip he made upon that, when, as the Queen's Attorney-general, he was gabbling in the House of Commons in 1819. This *recrimination*, which he here insinuates is not allowed, *he then threatened to be adopted against the King*; and, my father, in his "defence of the Queen against her defender," showed that the threat was an implication *in favour of the King*, while, at the same time, it was of a nature *so double, that it might act upon the mind of the King without acting in favour of the Queen*.

I have now done with the question as to the abrogation of our laws; and, now for the remedy which remains in the hands of the people. Applying this prin-

ciple of *recrimination* to our own case, what do we see amongst the men by whom the character of the people is aspersed in this manner? Bacon says, that men who are *more than usually deformed in feature* acquire a malevolence towards others, in proportion as the defect is disadvantageous to themselves, and this disadvantage being, principally, the meaner consideration in which they are held by the fair sex, he says that nature supplies a compensation by implanting such objects with a corresponding animosity against this sex. But he goes on further to say, that, besides the naturally deformed, there are the artificially deformed, or *corrupted in mind*; such as men who in their early time have inured themselves to all sorts of vice, have been habituated to see human nature in its corrupted state, who have made their pleasures consist in what is most derogatory to the female character, and who view in their after lives all things through a jaundiced vision; and, he says, moreover, and which is the chief thing, that these men, sensible of their corruptions, by the necessity of self-justification eagerly recognise the doctrine of the general corruptibility and utter worthlessness of human nature. And, thus, this latter most dangerous description of all, the inherent enemies of the human race, become, if they have power and influence, individually like so many little tyrants of Syracuse, and, by combining together, form collectively one great tyrant, a real many-headed monster! a Nabuchodonosor, sending forth a Scotch Holofernes, in order to "avenge himself on all the earth." Then, in addition to these lions, there are seekers after pelf; the accumulators, the jackals, who follow in their train, and who trouble themselves with no theories, and are animated by no motive but the sharing of spoil.

Let anybody view the men that we have to deal with, and say if they do not form this sort of phalanx. They are men of some one of these characters or of all, and it is now become a matter the most interesting to make diligent inquiry into these characters with exactness and

detail. The inquiry I mean, is one with regard to persons (*not in Parliament, of course*), who either lend their influence to this Poor Law or do not use that influence against it; and this inquiry I mean to undertake, unless some other person will do it. I have begun collecting the materials, and I find first, two books which have been already published and which are now beginning to be forgotten, but which, please God, the present generation must not be ignorant of. Talk of "*diffusion of useful knowledge*," let any one peruse the memoirs of Mary Anne Clarke and of Harriet Wilson, and say if they do not contain a fund of instruction as well as of amusement! The book of Mary Anne particularly should be read now; because, besides that it treats of *noble lions* and *royal tigers*, it is now more than twenty-seven years since it was published and so it is an age since it was heard of. Otherwise, both the books are of the same amusing and useful kind, and embrace dates and names, and relate anecdotes which are perfectly marvellous. The reader is there shown whole hosts of men living in a sort of state of male concubinage in the harems of these two female polygamists; with their *billets-doux* to their *joint innamoratas*, and all their ingenious devices in carrying on their *economical intrigues*. How the *generalizing principle* is acted upon by these political economists in embryo, whose predilection is to see a *common focus* even in their amours for a *common focus*. And he will see, that, of all the names mentioned in these two books, there are none, *of men out of Parliament*, who have not been amongst the foremost of the writers and speakers and movers for this Poor Law.

With regard to the republication of these books, I do not know to whom the copyright of that of Harriet belongs, but, I should hope that the proprietor has not suppressed this book; if so, as it was published about ten years ago, the suppression of it may continue for four years longer. But Mary Anne's book is now open to any one. I have a copy of the principal parts of it, and I expect to have the other in a day or two, and I

will give it to any one whom I can depend on to publish, which I cannot do, seeing that I reserve another sort of duty for myself. The facts in these books are correct, because they were not denied at the time of publication; or, at least, only in one trifling instance or two in Harriet's book; and, though the facts cannot be proved now, it is perfectly *safe* to make the republication; for, it is absurd to suppose that men are entitled to damages for the publication of what they might have prosecuted at the time when the witnesses were living.

(*To be concluded in our next.*)

LETTER III.

TO THE RT. HON. WILLIAM PITT,
ON THE CAUSES OF THE DECLINE OF GREAT BRITAIN.

(*Continued from p. 428.*)

MARKS OF NATIONAL DECLINE.

SIR,

BEFORE I proceed to trace back to its causes the decline of Great Britain, it will very reasonably and naturally be required of me, to show that the effect itself is not a mere *consequence* of some *cause* to which it is owing. I regard as the marks of that state of which my proposition necessarily supposes the existence. And here, Sir, I am not unaware of the hostile feeling that I have to encounter. Men are naturally averse from every thing which tends to the establishing of disagreeable truths. No bearer of sad tidings was ever yet greeted with a welcome; every one turns from the assurance of his dangers with an anxiety proportioned to their magnitude; it is the universal desire that the evil hour should be the last. But, as the bankrupt by shunning his books only hardens the grasp of the bailiff; as the patient who rejects the probe defers nothing but the possible alleviation of his agony; so the people, who shut their ears against the proofs of their national

decline, thereby hasten the downfall which they dread, and which, from this cause more than from any other, they finally experience.

To enumerate all the marks of our decline would require a volume of no moderate bulk. It will be sufficient to point out a few of those which apply more immediately to the present situation of the country; and the first of which is, the *Predominance of Wealth*. I am not complaining that people love money; that they prefer it to every other thing; that virtue and talents and even beauty are nothing when weighed against it: this complaint has always existed, and always will exist, as long as there are poor and rich people in the world. I am not speaking of individual riches as they affect the relations between man and man, but as they are now connected with what is called the wealth of the country; as they affect the public mind, and as they influence the national councils. In a well-constituted and healthy community, or state, individual riches are always held in subordination to higher endowments, and the public wealth is rendered subservient to the liberties and glory of the nation; whereas, in states that are hastening towards their fall, every other endowment yields to the possession of riches, and the nation's liberty and glory only serve as sacrifices to the preservation of its wealth.—To talk of the decline of a nation which is daily augmenting its exports and imports, its manufactures in every branch, its turnpike roads and canals, and the metropolis of which annually receives an addition equal in extent and population to a considerable city, while the people even to the lowest rank are clad and fed better than at any former period; to talk of the decline of such a nation will, to those who do not reflect, appear utterly incomprehensible. But, whoever has duly considered what it is that constitutes the greatness of a nation, what it is that raises her high in the world, what it is that secures her independence, will not derive much consolation from the custom-house books, or from any other of the usually enumerated signs of public prosperity; and, though his philan-

thropy may be gratified at seeing the poor eat whiter bread than formerly, his patriotism will certainly be mortified at the reflection that, in numbers three times greater than formerly, they eat it at the hands of the parish.—In estimating the prosperity of nations, we erroneously proceed upon the principles and maxims according to which we estimate the prosperity of individuals. We can form no idea of national decline which does not resemble that of a man's decline in business; and, thus, always involved in our trading notions, it appears to be a perfect absurdity to consider the decline of a nation as pointed out by the predominance of its wealth. Hence all the delusive hopes which were entertained, and held forth to the people, during the last war with France, that the enemy must soon be subdued, because he was ruined in his finances. Year after year, Sir, proceeding upon the maxim of that profound thinker Lord Auckland, you buoyed up the spirits of the people by depicting the declining circumstances, the approaching bankruptcy, the inevitable ruin, of the enemy, while the London makers of false assignats were urged on with as much eagerness as if the salvation of the world had depended upon the success of their labours. They did succeed; the much desired bankruptcy arrived; the enemy was, according to your notions, *completely ruined*. The sequel need not be described. Yet, even the peace of Amiens, in every article of which we fell prostrate before this declining, this bankrupt, this ruined enemy; even that compact did not remove the delusive confidence in the effects of wealth; and, when the aggrandizement of France and its fearful consequences were held forth to view, you referred us, with a triumphant smile somewhat partaking of a sneer, to “the *immense wealth* of this country, which “was more than sufficient to counter-balance all the acquisitions of France.” Your opinion was generally adopted: it was exactly consonant to the trading notions of the people: it was an homage paid to commerce and riches, and, therefore, it was sure to be graciously received. This opinion naturally grew out

of the previously adopted error of applying to the affairs of nations the principles according to which we judge of individual prosperity. In every state of life we see that wealth gives power, and, as we know that power gives security, the deduction is, that, in order to provide for our security, we have only to amass wealth. Facts have proved, that, as applied to nations, the leading position is false. But, of this there required very little reflection to convince us. Men of shallow minds, much too shallow to be employed even in the secondary departments of the state, do, indeed, always talk of the affairs of a nation as of those of a shop or a farm; and we have heard, from some of that numerous tribe of small lawyers who inhabit the Treasury Bench, speeches upon a treaty of peace or upon a declaration of war, which, with a change of the names of the parties and of places, might have done exceedingly well for a trial at the Westminster Sessions or at Hicks's Hall. These loquacious gentlemen do not seem to observe the wide difference that exists between the nature of national wealth and that of the wealth of individuals. The latter gives power, but it gives power only as long as it is itself protected by the power of the state, that is to say, by the government and the law, or, in one word, by the magistrate, who defends the physical force of the poor. To render, therefore, the reasoning upon individual riches applicable to the wealth of nations, we must first discover some extraneous power, by which each nation is protected in the exclusive possession of all the wealth which it has amassed. Amongst individuals, wealth gives power, and power gives security; but this is only because there is another and greater power which secures the wealth; and, as there is no such power to superintend the wealth of nations, the rich nation is no more secure than the poor one; nay, it is much less secure, being placed in a situation similar to that in which a rich man would be without the protection of the magistrate, presenting to the plunderer the strongest of temptations with the weakest of obstacles.—It is not the mere possession of the

wealth that we are to regard as a mark of national decline; but the estimating of that wealth too highly, and particularly the confiding in it as a means of preserving ourselves against the assaults of a warlike enemy, a sort of confidence that was never yet entertained by any nation not in the last stages of its degradation.

Another mark of national decline is the total want of a military spirit in the country: the aversion which men have to the profession of arms, and the consequent difficulties of raising an army. I think I hear you exclaim: "What! a want of a military spirit in the country?" "try when I have 480,000 volunteers!" I can make allowance for the esprit du corps, and also for a colonel's swelling out his muster-roll; but, I must be excused, if I reject the volunteer establishment as a proof of a military spirit, and even as a proof of personal bravery. I do not say, or insinuate, that the volunteers are not as brave as the rest of their countrymen; but, I deny, that their having entered into volunteer corps is any proof of their personal courage, and, in a national point of view, I regard the establishment as a striking proof of a want of a military spirit. Whence did it originate? Mr. Addington told us, in the loyalty and patriotism of the people. He knew better. All of us knew, that it principally arose from the dread of the ballot, a dread so deeply engraven on the minds of the people, that it will be very long before it be worn out. From this cause the ranks were filled, and replenished, till the passing of the parish-officer-project bill, which, by removing the dread of the ballot, has removed about one half of the volunteers from their corps; and, when the bill comes to be thoroughly understood in every part of the country, it would not be at all surprising if the 480,000 men were to be reduced to 50,000, leaving nothing but those who have assembled merely to play at soldiers, and who have not the most distant idea of ever marching ten miles from their homes. The simple fact is, then, that, of 480,000 men, capable of bearing arms, 300,000, at least, entered into volunteer corps from the

dread of being forced to enter a more effective service, a service *more military*, and this too at a moment when they regarded the independence of their country as being at stake! If this be not a proof of the want of a military spirit, what proof can be given? The men are excusable for many reasons; and the ministers who had recourse to the measure have been justified on the ground of necessity. They could not, it is said, get men in any other way. If true, this fact only strengthens the position for which I am contending. But, the original cause of the volunteer system is to be sought for in the spirit of trade. The minister, who was by no means deficient in that cunning which is usually found in a mind like his, saw in the adoption of a scheme, which would produce the appearance of vigour and security, while it left the mechanics and manufacturers at the command of their employers, the means of preserving his place for a year or two longer. It was a scheme perfectly congenial with the presumption as well as the avarice of the traders, who, at the same time that they saved, as they thought, the expense of a regular army, grasped at whatever authority was to be obtained amongst the volunteers. They regarded the volunteer force as an army entirely their own: raised for the protection of their warehouses and their banks: upon this army, therefore, of which you soon put yourself at the head, all the praises and honours were lavished: thus a system purely defensive was erected, and Britain became an island besieged.—Of all the marks of national decline, none is so unequivocal as that disposition which leads a people systematically to stand upon the defensive and wait for the attack of a threatening enemy. They first endeavour to purchase tranquillity at the expense of their honour; and, failing in that, forced at last into war, their best hope is to escape being conquered and yoked. Look back over the history of the world, Sir, and say, if any such people ever long preserved their independence!—The resentment of such a people, their bitter reproaches against their enemy, are not occasioned by his

insults, but by the compulsion they are under to meet him in arms: even their deeds of valour, if they perform any, are to be ascribed to a feeling very different from that which it is necessary for a nation to entertain in order to preserve its honour and to make it respected in the world. “A people rising unanimously in arms, for the defence of their homes,” you seem to regard as the most noble of spectacles; but, it would be much nobler, it would argue much greater courage and much less fear, if only a part, and, proportionally, a very small part, were to rise, while the rest remained tranquilly at home. When the domestics, in some play or romance that I have read, after long disputes as to whose duty it is to enter a haunted chamber, settle the matter by agreeing to go *all together*: this “unanimous rising” is, if I remember right, by no means attributed to an excess of bravery. The bull, when attacked, marches forth alone, leaving the herd to graze in tranquillity; while the timid flock, if they venture to make a show of resistance, never fail to make it in a body.

The want of a military spirit is naturally accompanied with an indifference for national honours, for the distinctions which perpetuate those glorious deeds, which, by means of such distinctions, are handed down from father to son. Of this indifference, Sir, as prevalent in this country, we have a melancholy proof in the conduct of the government, the parliament, and the people, respecting the surrender of the *honour of the flag*, and the still more ancient and still higher honour of the title of *King of France*. What avails it to talk of the heroic deeds of Nelson, since they could not prevent the dishonour of the flag, under which they were performed? For it must never be forgotten, that, to give up an honour once enjoyed, is to be dishonoured. The title of King of France, together with the Lilies, you denominated “a harmless feather;” a term aptly descriptive of that indifference the existence of which I deplore, and which is a sure and certain mark of the debasement of the national mind. “A harmless feather, the preserving of which ought

“not to stand in the way of so great a blessing as peace!” If peace were necessarily so great a blessing, why did you go to war? Was it to preserve your honour and dignity? Strange, indeed, then, that, in order to put an end to the war, you should give up the greatest honour, the most glorious meed, that the nation ever won! “A harmless feather!” Why, all honours and titles and dignities are, then, harmless feathers! Did you go to war to preserve the constitution; or, to use a term of more definite meaning, to preserve the throne? Still more strange, that, for the sake of returning to “the blessings of peace,” you should yield, as a harmless feather, one of the brightest honours of that throne! an honour which contributed not a little to the exciting and the preserving of that national pride and confidence by which it was originally achieved, and on which, let custom-house politicians say what they will, both the throne and the country depended for security. The memory of the conquest of France, recorded upon our coins, and every where else where the armorial bearings of our sovereign appeared, was one of the most powerful incentives amongst the common people. First or last, every son asked of his father an explanation of the meaning of the title of King of France; that generally led to a relation, more or less correct, of the valorous deeds of Englishmen in former time; and the impression thus received was communicated to the next generation.

“This story shall the good man teach his son;
 “And Crispin Crispian shall ne’er go by,
 “From this day to the ending of the world,
 “But we in it shall be remember’d.”

Shakspeare, alas! did not contemplate the possibility of times like the present. He never imagined that the lilies, won at Agincourt, would one day be bartered for the privilege of vending bales of goods! — Had the surrendering of this the greatest of all our honours been condemned by the nation; had it been decidedly reprobated in parliament; had it been the sole work of a minister; then there would be some hope that it was no indication of national decline. But,

parliament passed the matter over as if it were too trifling to meddle with; and, I do not remember that any one, except my insignificant self, spoke of it, in print, at least, as a subject of regret.——I am aware, that, amongst the smooth little clerks of Downing-street, this notion of the great effects of national honours will be regarded as an excellent subject of ridicule. They laugh at the idea of high sentiments in the minds of low men; but, not to say that the common people are not the *lowest* of men, and though it be not supposed that their notions of national honour are very refined, it may safely be asserted, that upon their minds those honours have a greater effect than upon those of any other class. Do we not always see them the first and the loudest in rejoicing at the victories won by the arms of their country? Their joy and their pride, upon such occasions, are greater than those of any other description of persons; because, uninformed as to the various circumstances of the event, they see the glory unclouded by any reflections upon the cost or the consequences, or upon the general character or conduct of the parties concerned.——Whoever carefully traces loyalty and patriotism to their source, will, I am persuaded, clearly discover, that neither of them can long exist where national honours are a subject of indifference. Turn over the page of history, and then say, whether those princes who have been the greatest warriors, have not also been the greatest favourites, more especially of the lower classes of their subjects. Many of them have been cruel tyrants, the constant practisers of all manner of vices; but military glory, endearing the possessors to the hearts of the great mass of the people, have, almost without exception, enabled them to despise the opinions of the more reflecting and criticising few. This general propensity may, and does, in certain cases, prove injurious to the humbler virtues and to individual freedom; but most assuredly it is the principal means of preserving national independence, which will ever be the first object with wise legislators and statesmen. The mere personal attachment to the sovereign,

founded upon his practising those virtues which are met with in every rank of life, must necessarily be confined to the breasts of a few, and, comparatively speaking, a very few indeed of his subjects. In truth, such attachment partakes not of the nature of loyalty. Loyalty is a firm and immoveable adherence to the king as king, and not as a man: it is shown in a reverence for his title and office; in a prompt and cheerful obedience to his commands; in a devotion of life, if called for, in his service: and it arises, amongst the mass of his subjects, from an habitual, an hereditary, persuasion, that the king is the repository of all that is necessary to the preservation of the national character, in which the heart of every man, however humble his condition, tells him that he has a share.—And, as to the other great public virtue, patriotism, which, when it exists in a proper degree, is a principle of the mind as strong and as uniform in its effects, as a love of kindred or of life itself; whence does it arise? Not from the desire to get a contract or a job, like that of the patriotism of Sir Brook's committees: not from anxiety for the funds like that of the patriotism of Lloyd's and the Bank: not from an affection for the earth, the mere dirt, for the dirt is still dirt, whatever be its geographical description. In the minds of the great and the rich, the principle of patriotism may be strengthened by considerations of individual interest; but, amongst the common people, the fighting part of the community, the prospect seldom extends beyond food and raiment; food and raiment, indeed, of a coarser or finer sort; but, after all, food and raiment are every thing that any soil, under any government, can possibly give them. It is true, that every man has an instinctive attachment to the spot where he first drew his breath; but, his country may be conquered without at all interrupting the indulgence of this grovelling feeling; and, as to mere appellation, in that respect, even Rome herself has lost nothing. No, Sir; in none of these has the virtue of patriotism its foundation, but in that anxious desire, which every man of sound sense and honest nature has, to see preserved untarnished the re-

putation of that country which he is obliged to own, whose name he can never shake off, from whose calamities he may possibly flee, but in all whose disgraces he must inevitably share. What, for instance, induced me, when so far distant from my country, voluntarily to devote myself to her cause? Her commerce? I neither knew nor cared any thing about it. Her funds? I was so happy as hardly to understand the meaning of the word. Her lands? I could, alas! lay claim to nothing but the graves of my parents.—What, then, was the stimulus? What was I proud of? It was the name and fame of England. Her laws, her liberties, her justice, her might; all the qualities and circumstances that had given her renown in the world, but, above all, her deeds in arms, her military glory. Had she then been, as she now is, bereft of the principal symbols of that glory; had she then been, as she now is, dishonoured in the eyes of the world, a bye-word and a reproach amongst the nations, very different, indeed, situated as I was, must have been my feelings and my conduct; and, even now, did I entertain the thought of her sinking into a mere money-mart, a mere work-shop, or a factory for traders; did I not hope, did I not, as I do, confidently hope (the causes of her decline first swept away) to see her regain her former greatness, it would, with me, be a matter of perfect indifference, who owned her soil, or who ate the produce.

It would be tedious to dwell upon every striking mark of national decline: some, however, will press themselves forward to particular notice; and amongst them are: that Italian-like effeminacy, which has, at last, descended to the yeomanry of the country, who are now found turning up their silly eyes in ecstasy at a music-meeting, while they should be cheering the hounds, or measuring their strength at the ring; the discouragement of all the athletic sports and modes of strife amongst the common people, and the consequent and fearful increase of those cuttings and stabbings, those assassin-like ways of taking vengeance, formerly heard of in England only as the vices of the most

base and cowardly foreigners, but now become so frequent amongst ourselves as to render necessary *a law to punish such practices with death*; the prevalence and encouragement of a hypocritical religion, a canting morality, and an affected humanity; the daily increasing poverty of the national church, and the daily increasing disposition still to fleece the more than half-shorn clergy, who are compelled to be, in various ways, the mere dependents of the upstarts of trade; the almost entire extinction of the ancient country gentry, whose estates are swallowed up by loan jobbers, contractors, and nabobs, who, for the far greater part not Englishmen themselves, exercise in England that sort of insolent sway, which, by the means of taxes raised from English labour, they have been enabled to exercise over the slaves of India or elsewhere; the bestowing of honours upon the mere possessors of wealth, without any regard to birth, character, or talents, or to the manner in which that wealth has been acquired; the familiar intercourse of but too many of the ancient nobility with persons of low birth and servile occupations, with exchange and insurance-brokers, loan and lottery contractors, agents and usurers, in short, with all the Jew-like race of money-changers; the loss of the spirit of independence, which is perceivable in the almost universal willingness and even eagerness, with which the higher classes seek to lean upon the Treasury, and with which the lower classes throw themselves upon the higher in the character of parish poor, thus forming the whole nation into a string of political mendicants, cringing to the minister of the day for a portion of that which he has drained from them in taxes.—Upon these and many other infallible marks of national decline it would be useless to dwell; for, indeed, why need we look for any other mark than that which is exhibited in our situation considered relatively to France? When I am shown the numerous turnpike roads and canals, the amazing manufactories of Manchester and Birmingham, the immense extent and riches of London, I see indubitable proofs of enormous individual wealth; but no proof

at all of national *wealth*, which, properly understood, is only another word for national *power*. Of what use are all these riches, unless the nation is more powerful in consequence of them? And, in estimating her power, we must not, like those profound statesmen, Lords Castlereagh and Hawkesbury, count the number of her ships, seamen, and boys, and also of her soldiers, militia, and volunteers, compared with the numbers of her own forces of former times and former wars, and conclude, that, because we find the present numbers greater, the nation must now be more powerful than she was in those times. Power is a relative endowment: nor, in speaking of the power of a nation, must we consider it relatively to the power of the nations of the world promiscuously, or in general; but to that of her neighbours, and especially of that particular nation, who has long been known as her rival and antagonist. I may easily beat a child or an old man; I may mow down whole crowds of cripples; but, am I yet able to encounter the man who is my equal in age, health, and size, and with whom I have fought in all the stages of life, from infancy up to manhood? This is the question which every man will put to himself, in order to satisfy his own mind as to the fact, whether, in point of bodily strength, he has, or has not, declined. And, as to his neighbours, if they see him suing for a cessation of the combat under the pretext of a necessity for “taking breath,” and of gathering strength “against another day of trial;” if they see him submitting to the grossest of insults rather than make that trial; and, when at last compelled to it, if they see his utmost hope, his “glory,” confined merely to the preservation of his existence, must they not conclude that he is a fallen and still falling man? It was, therefore, Sir, with great pain and with no small degree of shame, that I heard you, in your defence of the peace of Amiens, join in the boastings with respect to the secure state and proud attitude of England, when compared with the “degraded nations of the continent;” and when I heard you exult over the fall of Tippoo Sultan as “one of the events

"which had given the greatest consolidation to our strength!" But, Sir, it was not a comparison between England and Holland, or between England and Spain and Sardinia, that could afford triumph to any man of common sense; the comparison to be made was one between *England* and *France*; between the combatants who had been *opposed* to each other, and not between those who had been *fighting on the same side*, the comparison in the latter case being merely of a negative kind, and yielding only the miserable, not to say base consolation, that, while our companions had been stripped of their garments, and, in some places, of their skin, we had escaped without any other loss than that of our badges of honour, our trident and our lilies!—And here, Sir, I will, for a minute, interrupt the thread of my observations, in order to do what I should have done before, namely, remove, in advance, the objection which will, by the small lawyers and petty statesmen of Downing-street, be urged against my arguments founded on the loss of the lilies, seeing that we *threw them away* during the war, or, in the words of the Poet Laureate, "indignantly scratched them from the shield;" and this, for the sake of easy comprehension, I shall do in the recital of a fable. "The beaver," says *Æsop*, "which is a very timid though laborious animal, has a certain part about him for the obtaining of which he is often hunted down and killed. Once upon a time, as one of these creatures was hard pursued by the dogs, and knew not how to escape, recollecting within himself the reason of his being persecuted, he, with *great resolution*, bit off the part which his hunters wanted, and threw it towards them." Whether this answered the purpose of the poor beaver, we are left uninformed, but ours it certainly has not answered; on the contrary, it seems only to have rendered our hunters more keen in pursuit of the carcase. The moral, which *Croxall* has added to his fable of the hunted beaver, is singular enough: "Indeed," says he, "when life is pursued, and in danger, whoever values it, should give up

"every thing *but his honour* to preserve it."—To return to the boasting comparison; it was not the defeat and total overthrow of Tippoo Sultan that we should have heard of; it was the overthrow of Bonaparte, or, at least, of the reduction of his power to within such limits as would have rendered it not so obviously dangerous to England. What was the defeat of Tippoo Sultan to the people of this kingdom? The best purpose it could possibly answer was to insure the tranquillity of colonies the most distant of any that the mother country possesses, the most expensive to her, as is now clearly proved by the accounts submitted to parliament, and the least subsidiary to her native strength, to say nothing about the many ways in which it enfeebles her. How, then, could the fall of Tippoo, which has been followed by war upon war ever since, be placed in the balance against the immense addition which at the time of peace had been made to the solid power of France, that power which now enables her to keep us in a state of siege?

In answer to observations upon the decline of the nation, we are always reminded of the fate of former gloomy predictions upon the same subjects; and, that patient gentleman, Sir John Sinclair, has taken the pains to collect together passages from twenty or thirty authors, who have, at various times, predicted the "ruin" of England from the effects of the national debt. I shall, in the course of these letters, take an opportunity of showing, that the far greater part of what the most of these authors regarded as the ruin of their country, did, pretty nearly in the time and manner predicted, take place; and that, in many instances, the consequences apprehended were mitigated or prevented altogether, by the measures which their predictions produced. But, unless it be pretended, that, because some past predictions have not been fulfilled, no future ones, relative to the fall of a nation, can be fulfilled, this mode of answering cannot be very satisfactory, at least, until it be shown, that the circumstances, under which former gloomy predictions were made, were

similar to, or of a nature still more dangerous than, the circumstances of the present times. It is not my intention here to enter into the subject of the paper-money system; that system will be treated of as a cause, and not as a mark of national decline; but, I cannot forbear just to notice how weak that argument in favour of the funding system must be, which is built upon the failure of the predictions of those who thought they foresaw a national bankruptcy in times when a measure like that of 'bank restriction' had never entered into the mind of man. What resemblance was there, in this respect, between those times and the present? Never till within these eight years was there a scarcity of coin known in England. Till then paper was merely an auxiliary currency. Till then there were no notes under five pounds, now there are in the kingdom notes down to a value so low as that of a depreciated sixpence. Yet, it is with these facts before his eyes, and without a single instance in the history of the world of an extensive degraded paper currency having recovered from its degradation, that Sir John Sinclair has thought proper to produce predictions of a century ago, and from their failure (without proving it) to argue that the present predictions, relating to the same subject, are false.—It is, however, precisely in the same way that we are answered, when we insist upon the political dangers and decline of the country. We are told that such apprehensions have been before expressed over and over again; but, no mention is made of those apprehensions, which, at different times, have proved well founded, nor any acknowledgment of the fulfilment of certain predictions, in part if not in whole. The decline of the country has been insisted on, and its subjugation (always conditionally) has been predicted; and, because it has not yet actually been subjugated, we are hence bid to conclude, that it has not declined, and that it will not fall. But, unless the persons who have made this conclusion insist that the fall of this kingdom is an absolute impossibility, it behoves them, before they press their conclusion upon

me, to show, as in the case of the paper-money system, that the nation has ever before been placed in circumstances equally dangerous to those of the present. When they have shown me this; when they have referred me to a time that saw England without an ally upon the continent, and France in complete possession of all the coast of Europe from the Baltic to the Gulf of Venice, particularly that of Flanders and Holland, countries without whose perfect independence as to France it was a fixed maxim with English statesmen that England could never be safe: when they have shown me the time that the threats of France held the whole people of England in a state of bodily requisition for the mere defence of their native soil, totally uncertain of the moment when they should be called on to inundate their fields, to burn their houses, and to destroy their cattle, lest they should afford succour to an invading French army: when they can point to the time, that, in a war with France, the utmost hope expressed by Englishmen was to be able to defend their wives and their fire-sides, and that, so great was their terror, they publicly implored the Almighty to save them from being "swallowed up quick:" when, in short, they can show me a time, since the battle of Hastings, since the day when an army of Frenchmen invaded England, defeated an army of Englishmen, conquered the country, enslaved the people, and dishonoured their language and their name; if, since that day any other can be shown me when England stood in such awe of France as she does at this moment, then will I acknowledge that my anxiety for the safety and honour of my country may have augmented its dangers and disgrace; but, if no such instance can be shown me, I shall remain sincerely convinced, that we are in a fearful state of national decline, and, under that conviction, together with the hope of contributing in some small degree towards the application of a remedy while yet there is time, I shall proceed to develop the causes of that decline.

I am, Sir, yours, &c., &c.,

WM. COBBETT.

Duke Street, Oct. 25, 1804.

LONDON GAZETTE.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 21.

BANKRUPTS.

Bailey, John, Elm-street, Gray's Inn-lane, horse-hair manufacturer.
 Lewis, Mary Ann, Norfolk-street, Strand, dress-maker.
 Molyneux, Henry, Penzance, Cornwall, linen-draper.
 Powell, Charles, Blue Anchor Tavern, St. Mary at-Hill, wine-merchant.
 Adamson, Travers, Liverpool, commission-agent.
 Blacklock, William, and Thompson, George, Chorlton-upon-Medlock, Manchester, builders.
 Johnstone, Henry, Sheffield, coach-maker.
 Wade, William, Liverpool, grocer.
 Williamson, William Edward, and Onsey, Edward Buckley, Salford, Lancashire, brewers.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 25.

INSOLVENTS.

Hodges, William, Liverpool, merchant.
 Nokes, Joseph, Hinckley, Leicestershire, hosier.

BANKRUPTS.

Cox, Stephen, Brunswick-street, Stamford-street, horse-dealer.
 Deane, Thomas, Park-place, Greenwich, lodging-house-keeper.
 Phibbs, George, Blenheim-street, Bond-street, merchant.
 Fell, Jacob, New Mills, Derbyshire, grocer.
 Lees, John, Bilston, Staffordshire.
 Mushen, James, Birmingham, inn-keeper.
 Rhodes, John, Longwood, Huddersfield, Yorkshire, clothier.
 Sowerby, George, Hibbaldstowe, Lincolnshire, carpenter.
 Thring, John Tivito, Warminster, scrivener.
 Turner, Miles, Haigh, Lancashire, bleacher.

LONDON MARKETS.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 21.

CORN EXCHANGE.

The wheat trade is exceedingly heavy; in fact, there is nothing doing, and the prices are merely nominal at the quotations of last Wednesday. The barley trade remains in the same inanimate state, and oats evince a disposition downwards, but so little has been done, that no actual variation of price can be noticed.

The arrivals are 2311 sacks of flour, 5400 qrs. of wheat, 70 of barley, 1200 of malt, 2010 of oats, 3104 of Irish oats, and 3500 of foreign oats.

SMITHFIELD.

The finest oxen this morning are heavy sale at 4s to 4s 2d, and the finest Lincolns and Durhams are 3s 10d to 4s per stone. Second-rate meat is 3s to 3s 8d, and coarse and old oxen 2s 4d to 3s. In mutton, the primest Downs sell at 4s to 4s 2d,

and the best Kentish and Leicester wethers are 3s 8d to 3s 10d. The second-rate sheep sell at 3s to 3s 6d, and the coarse and older sheep at 2s 6d to 2s 10d. In lamb, the market is flat, at 4s 4d to 5s 2d per stone. Dairy-fed porkers are at 3s 6d to 4s, and large hogs at 2s 2d to 2s 10d. Prime calves sell at 4s 4d to 4s 8d, and larger and coarser at 3s 6d to 4s per stone.

Head of Cattle at Market.

Beasts, 498—Sheep and Lambs, 10,106—Calves, 256—Pigs, 380.

Price per stone, sinking offal.

	s.	d.	s.	d.		s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef -	3	4 to 4	2		Veal -	3	2 to 4	8	
Mutton	3	6 to 4	2		Pork -	3	0 to 4	0	
Lamb -	4	0 to 5	2		Irish -	0	0 to 0	0	

Prices of Hay and Straw, per Load.

Hay	-	3l	0s	0d	to 5l	0s	0d
Clover	-	3l	15s	0d	to 5l	15s	0d
Straw	-	1l	14s	0d	to 2l	0s	0d

MONDAY, AUGUST 24.

CORN EXCHANGE.

We have a very fair supply of all descriptions of grain this morning, and new wheat is 2s per qr. cheaper, and old wheat 1s 6d per qr. lower than on last market day.

In barley there is nothing doing, and the prices are entirely nominal, at the quotations we last gave.

The sale of oats is very dull, and, although we can quote no variation in the price from last market day at present, yet the general feeling is that a decline of from 1s to 2s will be submitted to before the market closes.

In beans and peas little is doing, and there is no alteration in prices.

	s.	s.
Wheat, Kent and Essex	-	30 a 42
Suffolk (White)	-	28 a 41
Norfolk	-	26 a 38
Barley	-	25 a 31
Malting	-	33 a 40
Malt	-	00 a 00
Old, ditto	-	00 a 00
Peas, White	-	28 a 31
Boilers	-	30 a 34
Grey	-	30 a 31
Maple	-	00 a 00
Wh.	-	00 a 00
do. ord.	-	00 a 00
Seed, last per	£00	a 00
Rye	-	30 a 32
Beans, Small	-	00 a 00
Old	-	00 a 00
Old Tick	-	00 a 00
Oats, Feed	-	20 a 23
Old	-	00 a 00
Poland	-	20 a 24
New ditto	-	00 a 00
Old	-	00 a 00
Potato	-	23 a 25
Scotch	-	00 a 00
Flour, per sack	-	28 a 32
Do. Fine	-	32 a 36

SMITHFIELD.

The finest beasts this morning are quoted at 4s to 4s 2d per stone, and the prime Lincolns and Durhams are 3s 8d to 4s. Second-rate meat fetches 3s to 3s 2d, and the coarse and inferior 2s 6d to 2s 10d. Mutton, for the finest Downs is worth 4s to 4s 2d, and for fine Kentish and Leicester wethers 3s 6d to 3s 10d; old, coarse, and inferior meat is at 2s 4d to 3s. In veal, for the finest calves the quotation is 4s 6d to 4s 8d, and large and coarser calves are 3s 2d to 3s 10d. Dairy-fed porkers sell at 3s 6d to 4s, and large hogs at 2s 2d to 2s 10d.

Head of Cattle at Market.

Beasts, 2618—Sheep and Lambs, 28,756—Calves, 234—Pigs, 390.

Price per stone, sinking offal.

	s.	d.	s.	d.		s.	d.	s.	d.		
Beef -	2	4	to	4	2	Veal -	3	0	to	4	0
Mutton	2	6	to	4	2	Pork -	3	0	to	4	0
Lamb -	4	0	to	5	4						

HAY AND STRAW MARKET.

Per Load.

Hay	-	3l	5s	0d	to	5l	5s	0d
Clover	-	3l	15s	0d	to	5l	15s	0d
Straw	-	1l	18s	0d	to	2l	5s	0d

NEWGATE AND LEADENHALL.

MONDAY, AUG. 24.

By the Carcase, per stone of 8 lbs.

NEWGATE

Inferior Beef	-	2s	0d	a	2s	2d
Middling ditto	-	2s	4d	a	2s	6d
Prime large ditto	-	2s	8d	a	3s	0d
Ditto to small ditto	-	3s	2d	a	3s	4d
Large Pork	-	2s	6d	a	2s	10d

LEADENHALL.

Prime Mutton	-	3s	2d	a	3s	8d	
Middling ditto	-	2s	6d	a	3s	0d	
Inferior ditto	-	2s	2d	a	2s	4d	
Veal	-	-	3s	0d	a	4s	4d
Small Pork	-	-	3s	10d	a	4s	4d
Lamb	-	-	3s	4d	a	4s	4d

HOP MARKET.

PRICE OF HOPS, PER CWT.

	E. Kent.	Mid. do.	Sussex.	Essex.	Farnham.
BAGS:	s. s.	s. s.	s. s.	s. s.	s. s.
1834	80 a 100	70 a 90	0 a 0	0 a 0	0 a 0
1833	50 a 75	45 a 65	0 a 0	0 a 0	0 a 0
1832	40 a 54	40 a 54	0 a 0	0 a 0	0 a 0
1831	25 a 35	25 a 35	0 a 0	0 a 0	0 a 0
POKTS:					
1834	80 a 110	75 a 105	75 a 95	75 a 105	130 a 150
1833	56 a 80	50 a 70	50 a 70	0 a 0	0 a 0
1832	40 a 60	40 a 50	40 a 56	0 a 0	0 a 0
1831	30 a 42	30 a 40	30 a 40	0 a 0	0 a 0

LEATHER.

	d.	d.
Brit. Butts, 50 a 60 lb	-	16 a 24
Dressing Hides	-	11 a 16
Crop Hides, 30 a 40 lb	-	12 a 12½
Ditto, 45 a 50 lb	-	14 a 15
Calf Skin, 30 a 40 lb	-	14 a 21
Ditto 50 a 70 lb	-	20 a 24
Ditto 70 a 80 lb	-	19 a 21
Tanned Horse Hides	-	15 a 23
Raw ditto, each	-	10s 6d a 11s
Ditto Ox and Cow, per lb	-	3 a 0s
Ditto Calf, each	-	7s 0d a 0s
Small Seal	-	17 a 18

PRICE OF FUNDS.

	Friday.	Saturday.	Monday.	Tuesday.	Wednesday.	Thursday.
Bank Stock	215 16 15	215 14½	215 14½	214 15	215	215 1 214
3 per Cent. Red.	90¾	90½	89¾ 90	89¾ ¾ 90	90¼ 89½	90¼
3 per Cent. Cons.	89¾ 90	89½	89¾	89¾ ½ 90	89¾ ¾	89¾
3½ per Cent. Red.	99¼	99¼ 8¾	98¾ 9	98¾ ¾	98¾ 99½	90¼
New 3½ per Cent.	98¾ ¾	98¾ ¾ ¾	98¾ ¾	98¾ ¾	98¾ ¾	99¼
Long Annuities	16¾ ¾	16½ 7-16	16¾ ½	16 7-16¾	16 7-16	16½
India Stock	-	-	-	253	253	253½
India Bonds	6 4	6	5 7	5 7	5 7 4	4 6
Exchequer Bills	18 20	18 21	20 22	20 22	22 20	20 22
Consols for Acct.	89¾ 90	89½	89¾	89¾ ½ 90	89¾ ¾	89¾
Brazilian	87	-	86½	86½	100½ 5	86½ ½
Mexican 6 per Ct.	36¼	37 38	35 34½	35	35¼ 5	-
Portuguese Reg.	88½	86½ 5¼	84¼ 5¼	87 86¼	85¼ 86¼	86¼ 86
Spanish 3 per Ct.	-	-	-	-	-	-
Spanish	42¾ 43	41 38½	35¼ 36¼	41 42 40½	41½ 40½	40¾
Russian	109¼	109¼	-	109½	109½	-
Dutch	101¼	102 1¾	101¼ ¾	101½	101¼ ¾	-
Belgian	101	100¼	100½	-	100½	100½
French 5 per Cent.	-	-	-	-	-	-
Columb. 3 per Cent.	32½	32 30¼	30 3½	31½	31½	31¼

TO BOOKSELLERS.

All the Books undermentioned are sold at No. 166, Fleet-street, London; and are to be had of all the Booksellers in the Kingdom.

THE
COBBETT-LIBRARY.

WHEN I am asked what books a young man or young woman ought to read, I always answer, "Let him or her read *all the books that I have written*. This does, it will doubtless be said, *smell of the shop*. No matter. It is what I recommended; and experience has taught me that it is my *duty* to give the recommendation. I am speaking here of books other than THE REGISTER; and even these, that I call my LIBRARY, consist of *thirty-nine* distinct books; two of them being TRANSLATIONS; seven of them being written BY MY SONS; one (TULL'S HUSBANDRY) revised and edited, and one published by me, and written by the Rev. Mr. O'CALLAGHAN, a most virtuous Catholic Priest; and one written by Mr. EATON, and published by me. I divide these books into classes, as follows; 1. Books for TEACHING LANGUAGE; 2. On DOMESTIC MANAGEMENT AND DUTIES; 3. On RURAL AFFAIRS; 4. On THE MANAGEMENT OF NATIONAL AFFAIRS; 5. HISTORY; 6. TRAVELS; 7. LAWS; 8. MISCELLANEOUS POLITICS. Here is a great variety of subjects; and all of them very *dry*; nevertheless the manner of treating them is, in general, such as to induce the reader to *go through the book*, when he has once begun it.

I will now speak of each book separately under the several heads above-mentioned. N.B. All the books are *bound in boards*, which will be borne in mind when the price is looked at.

WM. COBBETT.

1. BOOKS FOR TEACHING KNOWLEDGE.

ENGLISH SPELLING-BOOK. I have been frequently asked by mothers of families, by some fathers, and by some schoolmasters even, to write a book that they could *begin* teaching by; one that should begin at the beginning of book learning, and smooth the way along to my own English Grammar, which is the entrance-gate. I

often promised to comply with these requests, and, from time to time, in the intervals of political heats, I have thought of the thing, till, at last, I found time enough to sit down and put it upon paper. The objection to the common spelling-books is, that the writers aim at teaching several important sciences in a little book in which the whole aim should be the teaching of *spelling* and *reading*. We are presented with a little ARITHMETIC, a little ASTRONOMY, a little GEOGRAPHY, and a good deal of RELIGION! No wonder the poor little things imbibe a hatred of books in the first that they look into! Disapproving heartily of these books, I have carefully abstained from every thing beyond the object in view; namely, the teaching of a child to spell and read; and this work I have made as pleasant as I could, by introducing such stories as children most delight in, accompanied by those little wood-cut illustrations which amuse them. At the end of the book there is a "*Stepping-stone to the English Grammar*." It is but a step; it is designed to teach a child the different *parts of speech*, and the use of *points*, with one or two small matters of the kind. The book is in the duodecimo form, contains 176 pages of print, and the price is 2s.

ENGLISH GRAMMAR. (Price 3s.) This work is in a series of letters addressed to my son James when he was fourteen years old. I made him *copy the whole of it* before it went to press; and that made him a *grammarian at once*; and how able a one it made him will be seen by his *own Grammar of the ITALIAN LANGUAGE*, his *RIDE IN FRANCE*, and his *TOUR IN ITALY*. There are at the end of this Grammar "Six Lessons intended to prevent *Statesmen* from using false grammar:" and I really wish that *our statesmen* would attend to the instructions of the whole book. Thousands upon thousands of young men have been made correct writers by it; and it is next to impossible that they should have read with attention without its producing such effect. It is a book of *principles*, clearly laid down; and when once these are got into the mind they never quit it. More than 100,000 of this work have been sold.

COBBETT'S FRENCH GRAMMAR (Price 5s.); or, *Plain Instructions for the Learning of French*.—This book has had, and has, a very great effect in the producing of its object. More young men have, I dare say, learned French from it, than from all the other books that have been published in English for the last fifty years. It is, like the former, a book of *principles*, clearly laid down. I had this great advantage, too, that I had learned French *without a master*. I had grubbed it out bit by bit, and knew well how to *remove all the difficulties*: I remembered what it was that had *puzzled* and *retarded* me; and I have taken care, in this my Grammar, to prevent the reader from experiencing that which, in this respect, I experienced myself. This Grammar, as well as the former, is kept out of *schools*, owing to the *fear* that the masters and mistresses have of being looked upon as COBBETTITES. So much

the worse for the children of the stupid brutes who are the cause of this fear, which sensible people laugh at, and avail themselves of the advantages tendered to them in the books. *Teaching French in English Schools* is, generally, a mere delusion; and as to teaching the pronunciation by rules it is the grossest of all human absurdities. My knowledge of French was so complete *thirty-seven years ago*, that the very first thing in the shape of a book that I wrote for the press, was a *Grammar to teach Frenchmen English*; and of course it was written in French. I must know all about these two languages; and must be able to give advice to young people on the subject: their time is precious; and I advise them not to waste it upon what are called lessons from masters and mistresses. To learn the pronunciation, there is no way but that of hearing those, and speaking with those, who speak the language well. My Grammar will do the rest.

Just published, Second Edition, 6s. boards,

A GRAMMAR OF THE ITALIAN LANGUAGE; or, a Plain and Compendious Introduction to the Study of Italian. By JAMES PAUL COBBETT. This work contains explanations and examples to teach the language practically; and the principles of construction are illustrated by passages from the best Italian authors.

A LATIN GRAMMAR for the Use of Boys; being an explanation of the Rudiments of the Latin Language. By JAMES PAUL COBBETT. Price 3s. boards.

EXERCISES TO COBBETT'S FRENCH GRAMMAR (Price 2s.) just published. It is an accompaniment to the French Grammar, and is necessary to the learner who has been diligent in his reading of the Grammar. By JAMES COBBETT.

COBBETT'S FRENCH AND ENGLISH DICTIONARY. This book is now published. Its price is 12s. in boards; and it is a thick octavo volume.

GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF ENGLAND AND WALES. This book was suggested to me by my own frequent want of the information which it contains; a suggestion which, if every compiler did but wait to feel before he put shears to work, would spare the world many a voluminous and useless book. I am constantly receiving letters out of the country, the writers living in obscure places, but who seldom think of giving more than the name of the place that they write from; and thus have I often been puzzled to death to find out even the county in which it is, before I could return an answer. I one day determined, therefore, for my own convenience, to have a list made out of every parish in the kingdom; but, this being done, I found that I had still townships and hamlets to add in order to make my list complete; and when I had got the work only half done, I found it a book; and that, with the addition of bearing and population, and distance from the next market-

town, or, if a market-town, from London, it would be a really useful *Geographical Dictionary*. It is a work which the learned would call *sui generis*; it prompted itself into life, and it has grown in my hands, but I will here insert the whole of the title-page, for that contains a full description of the book. In a thick 8vo. volume, price 12s.

"A GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF ENGLAND AND WALES; containing the names, in Alphabetical Order, of all the Counties, with their several Subdivisions into Hundreds, Lathes, Rapes, Wapentakes, Wards, or Divisions; and an Account of the Distribution of the Counties into Circuits, Dioceses, and Parliamentary Divisions. Also the names (under that of each County respectively), in Alphabetical Order, of all the Cities, Boroughs, Market Towns, Villages, Hamlets, and Tithings, with the Distance of each from London, or from the nearest Market Town, and with the Population, and other interesting particulars relating to each; besides which there are MAPS; first, one of the whole country, showing the local situation of the Counties relative to each other; and, then, each County is also preceded by a Map, showing, in the same manner, the local situations of the Cities, Boroughs, and Market Towns. FOUR TABLES are added; first, a Statistical Table of all the Counties; and then Three Tables, showing the new Divisions and Distributions enacted by the Reform-Law of 4th June, 1832."

2. BOOKS ON DOMESTIC MANAGEMENT AND DUTIES.

COBBETT'S COTTAGE ECONOMY (Price 2s. 6d.); containing information relative to the brewing of Beer, making of Bread, keeping of Cows, Pigs, Bees, Ewes, Goats, Poultry, and Rabbits, and relative to other matters deemed useful in the conducting of the Affairs of a Labourer's Family; to which are added, instructions relative to the selecting, the cutting, and the bleaching of the Plants of English Grass and Grain, for the purpose of making Hats and Bonnets; and also Instructions for erecting and using Ice-houses, after the Virginian manner. In my own estimation, the book that stands first is POOR MAN'S FRIEND; and the one that stands next is this COTTAGE ECONOMY; and beyond all description is the pleasure I derive from reflecting on the number of happy families that this little book must have made. I dined in company with a lady in Worcestershire, who desired to see me on account of this book; and she told me that until she read it she knew nothing at all about these two great matters, the making of bread and of beer; but that, from the moment she read the book, she began to teach her servants, and that the benefits were very great. But to the labouring people, there are the arguments in favour of good conduct, sobriety, frugality, industry, all the domestic virtues; here are the reasons for all

these; and it must be a real devil in human shape, who does not applaud the man who could sit down to write this book, a copy of which every *parson* ought, upon pain of loss of ears, to present to every girl that he marries, rich or poor.

COBBETT'S ADVICE TO YOUNG MEN, and (incidentally) to *Young Women, in the middle and higher Ranks of Life.* (Price 5s.) It was published in fourteen numbers, and is now in one vol. complete.

COBBETT'S SERMONS (Price 3s. 6d) There are 12 of them, on the following subjects: 1. Hypocrisy and Cruelty; 2. Drunkenness; 3. Bribery; 4. The Rights of the Poor; 5. Unjust Judges; 6. The Sluggard; 7. Murder; 8. Gaming; 9. Public Robbery; 10. The unnatural Mother; 11. Forbidding Marriage; 12. Parsons and Tithes. More of these Sermons have been sold than of the Sermons of all the Church-parsons put together since mine were published. There are some parsons who have the good sense and virtue to preach them from the pulpit. A thirteenth is published, entitled, Good Friday. Price 6d.

3. BOOKS ON RURAL AFFAIRS.

COBBETT'S EDITION OF TULL'S HUSBANDRY (Price 15s.): THE HORSE-HOEING HUSBANDRY; OR, A TREATISE ON the Principles of TILLAGE and VEGETATION, wherein is taught a method of introducing a sort of VINEYARD CULTURE into the CORN-FIELDS, in order to increase their Product and diminish the common expense. By JETHRO TULL, of Shalborne, in the county of Berks. To which is prefixed, AN INTRODUCTION, explanatory of some circumstances connected with the History and Division of the Work; and containing an Account of certain Experiments of recent date, by WILLIAM COBBETT.—From this famous book I learned all my principles relative to farming, gardening, and planting. It really, without a pun, *goes to the root* of the subject. Before I read this book I had seen enough of *effects*, but really knew nothing about the *causes*. It contains the foundation of all knowledge in the cultivation of the earth.

COBBETT'S YEAR'S RESIDENCE IN AMERICA, WITH A MAP (Price 5s.); treating of the Face of the Country, the Climate, the Soil, the Products, the Mode of Cultivating the Land, the Prices of Land, of Labour, of Food, of Raiment; of the expenses of Housekeeping, and of the usual manner of Living; of the Manners and Customs of the People; and of the Institutions of the Country, Civil, Political, and Religious; in three Parts.—The map is a map of the United States. The book contains a *Journal for the Weather for one whole year*; and it has an account of my *farming* in that country; and also an account of the causes of poor Birkbeck's failure in his undertaking. A book very neces-

sary to all men of property who emigrate to the United States.

COBBETT'S ENGLISH GARDENER (Price 6s.): OR, A TREATISE ON the Situation, Soil, Enclosing and Laying-out of Kitchen-gardens; on the Making and Managing the Hot-beds and Green Houses; and on the Propagation and Cultivation of all sorts of Kitchen-garden Plants, and of Fruit-Trees, whether of the Garden or the Orchard. And also on the Formation of Shrubberies and Flower Gardens; and on the Propagation and Cultivation of the several sorts of Shrubs and Flowers; concluding with a KALENDAR, giving Instructions relative to the Sowings, Plantings, Prunings, and other labours, to be performed in the Gardens, in each Month of the Year. A complete book of the kind. A plan of a kitchen garden, and little plates to explain the works of pruning, grafting, and budding. But it is here, as in all my books, the *principles* that are valuable; it is a knowledge of these that fills the reader with delight in the pursuit. I wrote a *Gardener* for America, and the vile wretch who pirated it there had the baseness to leave out the *dedication*. No pursuit is so rational as this, as an amusement or relaxation, and none so innocent and so useful. It naturally leads to *early rising*; to sober contemplation; and is conducive to health. Every young man should be a gardener, if possible, whatever else may be his pursuits.

COBBETT'S WOODLANDS (Price 14s.); OR, A TREATISE ON the Preparing of Ground for Planting; on the Planting; on the Cultivating; on the Pruning; and on the Cutting down of Forest Trees and Underwoods; describing the usual Growth and Size and the Uses of each Sort of Tree, the Seed of each, the Season and Manner of collecting the Seed, the Manner of Preserving and Sowing it, and also the Manner of Managing the Young Plants until fit to plant out; the TREES being arranged in Alphabetical Order, and the List of them, including those of America as well as those of England, and the English, French, and Latin Name being prefixed to the Directions relative to each Tree respectively.—This work takes every tree at ITS SEED, and carries an account of it to the cutting down and converting to its uses.

COBBETT'S CORN BOOK (Price 5s.); OR, A TREATISE ON COBBETT'S CORN: containing Instructions for Propagating and Cultivating the Plant, and for Harvesting and Preserving the Crop; and also an Account of the several Uses to which the Produce is applied, with minute Directions relative to each Mode of Application.—This edition I sell at 5s. that it may get into *numerous hands*. I have had, even *this year*, a noble crop of this corn: and I undertake to pledge myself, that this corn will be in general cultivation in England, in *two or three years* from this time, in spite of all that fools and malignant asses can say against it. When I get time to go out into the country, amongst the labourers in KENT, SUSSEX, HANTS, WILTS, and BERKS, who are now *more worthy* of encouragement and good living

than they ever were, though they were always excellent; I promise myself the pleasure of seeing this beautiful crop growing in all their gardens, and to see every man of them once more with a bit of meat on his table and in his satchel, instead of the *infamous potato*.

4. MANAGEMENT OF NATIONAL AFFAIRS.

COBBETT'S PAPER AGAINST GOLD (*Price 5s.*); or, The History and Mystery of the Bank of England, of the Debt, of the Stocks, of the Sinking Fund, and of all the other Tricks and Contrivances carried on by the means of Paper Money.—This is the *tenth* edition of this work, which will, I trust, be admired, long after the final destruction of the horrible system which it exposes. It is the A, B, C, of Paper-money learning. Every young man should read it with attention.

THE CURSE OF PAPER MONEY; showing the evils produced in America by Paper-money. By WM. GOUGE; and Reprinted, with a Preface, by WM. COBBETT, M.P. *Price 4s.*

EQUITABLE ADJUSTMENT: FOUR LETTERS TO THE HONOURABLE JOHN STUART WORTLEY, in Answer to his "Brief Inquiry into the True Award of an Equitable Adjustment between the Nation and its Creditors." *Price 2s.*

COBBETT'S RURAL RIDES. (*Price 5s.*) **RURAL RIDES** in the Counties of Surrey, Kent, Sussex, Hampshire, Wiltshire, Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Worcestershire, Somersetshire, Oxfordshire, Berkshire, Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, and Hertfordshire: with Economical and Political Observations relative to Matters applicable to, and illustrated by, the State of those Counties respectively.—These rides were performed on *horseback*. If the Members of the Government had *read* them, only just *read* them, last year, when they were collected and printed in a volume, they *could not* have helped foreseeing all the violences that have taken place, and especially in *these very counties*; and foreseeing them, they must have been devils in reality if they had not done something to prevent them. This is such a book as *statesmen* ought to read.

COBBETT'S POOR MAN'S FRIEND (*Price 8d.*); or, a Defence of the Rights of those who do the Work and fight the Battles. This is my *favorite* work. I bestowed more labour upon it than upon any large volume that I ever wrote. Here it is proved, that, according to all laws, divine as well as human, no one is to die with hunger amidst an abundance of food.

COBBETT'S EMIGRANT'S GUIDE (*Price 2s. 6d.*); in **TEN LETTERS**, Addressed to the **TAXPAYERS OF ENGLAND**; containing Information of every kind, necessary to persons who are about to emigrate; including several authentic and most interesting Letters from English Emigrants, now in America, to their relations in England; and

an Account of the Prices of House and Land; recently obtained from America by Mr. Cobbett. A New Edition.—Here all the Information is contained that any one going to the United States of America can want, down to the most minute particulars; and here it is shown, that a man, who does not wish to be starved, or to be a slave, ought not to emigrate to any other country.

COBBETT'S MANCHESTER LECTURES.

This is a small duodecimo volume (*Price 2s. 6d.*), and it contains Six Lectures that I delivered at Manchester in the winter of 1831. In these Lectures I have gone fully into the State of the Country, and have put forth what I deem the proper Remedies for that State. I have fully discussed the questions of Debt, Dead Weight, Sinecures, and Pensions, Church, Crown Lands, Army, and Navy, and I defy all the doctors of political economy to answer me that book. It contains a statement of the propositions which, please God, I mean to make as a ground work of relief to our country.

USURY LAWS (*Price 3s. 6d.*); or, **LENDING AT INTEREST**; also the Exaction and Payment of certain Church-fees, such as Pew-rents, Burial-fees, and the like, together with forestalling Traffic; all proved to be repugnant to the Divine and Ecclesiastical Law, and destructive to Civil Society. To which is prefixed a Narrative of the Controversy between the Author and Bishop Coppingier, and of the sufferings of the former in consequence of his Adherence to the Truth. By the Rev. JEREMIAH O'CALLAGHAN, Roman Catholic Priest. With a DEDICATION to the "SOCIETY OF FRIENDS," by WILLIAM COBBETT.—Every young man should read this book, the *history* of which, besides the learned matter, is very curious. The "JESUITS," as they call them, in France, ought to read this book; and then tell the world how they can find the *impudence* to preach the Catholic Religion and to uphold the funding system at the same time.

5. HISTORY.

COBBETT'S HISTORY OF THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION in ENGLAND and IRELAND (*Price 4s. 6d.*), showing how that Event has impoverished and degraded the main body of the People in those Countries: in a Series of Letters, addressed to all sensible and just Englishmen: also PART II. (*Price 3s. 6d.*); containing a List of the Abbeys, Priories, Nunneries, Hospitals, and other Religious Foundations, in England and Wales, and in Ireland, confiscated, seized on, or alienated, by the Protestant "Reformation" Sovereigns and Parliaments.—There are *two Editions*, one in *Duodecimo* and one in *Royal Octavo*, each in *two volumes*. The last was printed on the notion that the *rich* Catholics would like to have the work in a finer form. It was an error; and as it is better to sell books than to keep them, this fine edition is sold for *ten shillings*: the small edition for *8s.* This is the book that has done

